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Durham University

Identity, Language, and Education – A Case Study in Taiwan

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor in Education

School of Education

Durham University

2013

Grace Lee

Abstract

The concept of identity as well as its construction process is a complex one.

In order to better understand this concept of identity, the objective of this study was to look at the life history of one Taiwanese woman who has lived through three educational systems in Taiwan. Her life story, collected through multiple interviews, is examined for moments and experiences which depict her views on her identity, and later analyzed with particular attention to the relationship between identity, language and education. Her narratives show that her identities are fluid, context-dependent and multi-faceted; characteristics of identity which have been proposed by other researchers in their studies. Following analysis of the stories she tells, I have identified three main identities that she holds and have attempted to show how education and language pertain to this identity. It appears that the role of education and language is important and definitely has influence on an individual's identity and also an individual's ability to become a member of selected groups. However, it would be careless to disregard other factors, such as family and socio-political situations because often these factors can be linked to language and education as well and have emerged from this study as also being influential factors.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude and appreciation to my supervisors, Professor Mike Byram and Professor Carl Bagley. I want to thank Professor Byram for his patience, guidance, and the sharing of his extensive knowledge. Without him and his supervision, this thesis may have never been completed. I also want to thank Professor Bagley for his candid comments during the course of my study.

I would also like to thank every participant in this study who took the time to tell me their stories and also for encouraging me in this learning process. These shared moments are very special. Finally, a very special thank you to my family. Without their support and encouragement, this endeavour would not have been possible.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my father, for teaching me the value of being curious, for giving me the freedom to explore, and for sharing his love of learning.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis, which I submit for the degree of Doctor of Education at the University of Durham, is my own work and has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other university.

Statement of Copyright

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Identity, Language, and Education – A Case Study in Taiwan

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In life, a person can play many roles such as parent, child, employer, employee, and belong to different groups including cultural, economical, and social ones. Identities are something that individuals form through years of socialization and participation in groups. Socialization is the ongoing process that continues when individuals interact with one another. With international mobility increasingly widespread, the socialization process becomes a more complicated one as individuals need to incorporate more than one cultural norm into their individual mental frameworks. As part of this process, they may receive education in a language other than that of the family. This education will impact the construction of the self-identity and influence decisions regarding education of the next generation.

Our society is rapidly changing and a wider selection of educational formats has become available. What possible effects do schooling and language have on identities? How do people maintain their ethnic and national identity, regardless of education and the language competences they acquire through schooling?

1.2 Objective for Study

In order to better understand this general question of identity, the objective of

this study will be to look at the life history of one Taiwanese woman who has lived through three educational systems in Taiwan. Her life story will be examined for moments or experiences which depict her views on her identity in order to find if there is a relationship between her self-identification process, education, and language. Identifying these experiences involving her identities, education, and language could shed light on how individuals are influenced by their language and education. Optimistically the study will enable us to have access into how different factors may influence various identities, and the role that language and education can have. These findings, whether specific to a minute group or that of a larger one, can contribute to a better understanding of the relationships among identity, language, and education in our world.

This research is conducted using a framework consisting of the concepts of identity, language, and education as guiding factors, and not led with a specific research question. The reason for this approach is to allow the findings to evolve throughout the research, for the voice and beliefs of the participants to be shared; rather than the findings be directed by a specific question which could limit what otherwise might emerge. The objective is to collect the participants' stories of their lived experiences and then to explore the concepts of language, identity, and education and its relationships.

1.3 Context

The proposed research stems from my own personal life. My grandparents embedded an idea in my head as a child, "You are Taiwanese, not Chinese,

not American.” This notion of being “Taiwanese” runs very deep in my family and as a child I struggled with it as did my siblings and cousins who were raised abroad and may not have lived in Taiwan. I never quite understood as a child why it was so important to my grandparents, for us to recognize the “Taiwanese” identity. I didn’t understand why my other relatives held so dearly to this “Taiwanese” identity either. It was only as I grew older, that I began to understand some of the reasons why it was so significant to them.

I was raised in the United States until the age of nine when my family returned to Taiwan. Since our move to Taiwan, I have continually moved back and forth between the two countries, for schooling and work. Being in all these countries, I have had to make decisions regarding a form of education for my daughter. I decided therefore to use this thesis as a means of understanding the issues both in theory and practice.

Looking briefly at the education of my family members, I see three types of schooling and three mixtures of communication. My grandmother received education predominately in Japanese. She prefers Japanese for reading and Taiwanese for speaking. My mother received her education predominately in Mandarin, and I received my education in English. My mother reads in Mandarin, but speaks more freely in Taiwanese. I function in English, though current environmental factors require me to use Mandarin.

Each of us holds a slightly different view of who we are, though we identify with the same groups, which results from not just our surroundings, but our

schooling. This difference combined with the needs of our current society, drives me into internal conflict when having to decide about my daughter's education. How can the languages she acquires and her educational institution influence her identity? What is the relationship between education, language, and identity?

The decision presents itself as a challenge because education is not merely the acquisition of language and academic skills, in the way Wardekker argues, "Many theorists of education have defined school as a place where competencies, knowledge, and attitudes are transmitted to a new generation" (1995:510). We learn more than that. Schooling is where Berger and Luckmann's secondary socialization occurs. It is "the internalization of institutional or institution-based 'sub-worlds' ... The 'sub-worlds' internalized in secondary socialization are generally partial realities in contrast to the 'base-world' acquired in primary socialization" (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 158). According to Berger and Luckmann, this is the time when individuals learn specific language for their roles, skills, and the ability to understand and use the language. This is when the individual internalizes information and develops a subjective identification with the role. "A person's identity is constituted by a configuration of central traits...that typically make a systematic difference to the course of a person's life, to the habit-forming and action-guiding social categories in which she is placed, to the way that she acts, reacts, and interacts" (Rorty and Wong 1990: 19). Therefore, education plays a crucial role in an individual's life and his identity construction process.

Language is also an important factor when considering one's identity since language provides access to cultural phenomena. Language allows people to immerse themselves into a group and be considered a member (Schumann 1990). Once a member, it becomes an identity marker. The proposed research will investigate further these concepts.

Culture and thought is also embedded in language, as argued by the 'Sapir-Whorf hypothesis' (Lee 1996). For example, there are certain Tai-yu words that are just not exactly translatable into English or Mandarin. The ways individuals communicate in a particular language are part of the culture of a particular group using the language as part of its identification. For example, in English, there is only one word for brother, but in Tai-yu and Mandarin there are terms for brother depending on closeness or order of the brother. This relates to the cultural concept of family maintained by the Chinese. Understanding of a language assists individuals into acquisition of and assimilation into the culture of a group, and the experiences surrounding interactions within that community shape one's identity and attitudes.

Taiwan is a place that has been occupied by various foreign nations including the Portuguese, Dutch, and Japanese. With each occupation, the language introduced, or even imposed at times, has changed. During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1885 – 1945), the people of Taiwan were required to learn Japanese. Upon liberation from Japanese colonial rule, Taiwan was turned "Chinese" when troops from Mainland China settled. The language required became Mandarin otherwise known as Putonghua or Pekinese.

Taiwan's own language of Tai-yu, also often referred to as Taiwanese and

Minnan, is the mother-tongue of the majority of local Taiwanese people. Tai-yu was never made an official language in Taiwan and was often suppressed or used to distinguish the Taiwanese from others in the community. The indigenous languages of the aborigines are from a different language family than Tai-yu, which has a Chinese origin, and will not be addressed in this thesis. Throughout the changes in Taiwan's history, a single national identity has been attempted through the use of language, but other than language issues, differences existed in cultural norms and expectations as well.

Language can be possibly acquired any time and over time; and it is not always a reliable measurement of the geographical origin or ancestry of a person. The choice of language and schooling can have significant implications for a person's identity. An individual's identity, experiences, and schooling will influence their decisions when raising their children. Through this research, using narrative methodology, as will be explained later, we can explore the experiences (events), ideologies, and influencing factors that have affected identity, education, and language in my family. Then, with this information, I will be able to make a more informed decision regarding my daughter's education – a very important personal issue- but also by studying in depth a specific case, I will be able to contribute a better understanding of the nexus of education, language, and identity.

1.4 Thesis Overview

After this brief introduction to the themes and purposes of this thesis, the

next chapter (Chapter2) will provide a general and brief history of Taiwan from 1895 onwards focusing on the Japanese occupation and the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) rule. Drawing upon existing literature describing Taiwan, its language complexity will be presented including mentioning of policies regarding language and education for the local Taiwanese.

The purpose of Chapter 2 will be to provide the necessary analysis of historical and cultural events in Taiwan with particular attention to the language and educational developments. In particular this will be focused on the period of education of the person who is at the centre of the empirical part of this thesis. Without this framework, some elements of the data may not be comprehensible or placed appropriately in context.

A portion of this chapter will also provide a skeletal background of Luo, who is the person studied for this thesis, and without going into her narratives (e.g. when born, education, positions held) why she was chosen for this study.

In Chapter 3, I will survey and analyze the literature on identity in relation to education, language, and culture and how identity can be affected by them. I will suggest that because language carries with it culture, language is important in relating to an identity, and education attempts to shape our identity. Therefore this thesis focuses on language and education in relation to identity construction.

The purpose of Chapter 3 is to identify and analyze the literature relevant to my focus. The first stage will be to summarise the theoretical literature on

identity and identities which is relevant to my focus, to present a framework of identity theory which can help in my study. The second stage will have two elements. The first will be to identify: the literature which discusses in theoretical terms (a) the influence and role of language on identity (b) the role and influence of education in general on identity and (c) the role and influence of language education in particular on identity. The second stage will be to analyze any empirical studies which are relevant to my focus: studies of any location which have analyzed the relationships among the three factors of language identity and education; and studies in Taiwan or comparable countries.

By the end of this chapter I will have a better understanding of what existing literature tells me about the questions which arise around the nexus of language, identity and education and will also have a summary of existing empirical research with which I can, in later chapters, compare and contrast my own empirical findings in order to see whether what I find confirms other empirical research and theoretical models, and whether what I find adds a new dimension to empirical research and/or perhaps challenges existing theoretical models.

At the end of this chapter I will also begin to formulate my general focus on language, education and identity in terms of questions which need to be asked. The theory and empirical studies will (perhaps) suggest some hypotheses about the relationships and these will guide my data collection and analysis.

Chapter 4 will explain the methodology I adopted for the research. I will review the options which were available and explore the information I considered before reaching a decision on collecting data using narratives and life history interviews. By the end of this chapter it will be clear to the reader how I collected the data, what ethical and related issues were involved and how I carried out the data analysis.

Following the methodology chapter will be Chapter 5 which will present my findings. In this chapter, I will analyze the data collected and use narratives from my participant's interviews. The information collected will be used to structure the chapter. I will try to draw out the moments my interviewee shares regarding language, identity, and education, as well as experiences which have contributed to her identity construction. Then I will compare this information with academic theories and other studies that were presented in the literature analysis section of this thesis. The format should be structured into the following headings:

- Identities

- Education as a source of identities

- Education as a source of languages

- Languages and their relations to identities

- Languages and how they are used with other people

The data will be also analyzed according to three phenomena: 1. Historical events – a minor contribution to the history 2. Other empirical studies of language, identity and education and 3. Theoretical models of language, identity and education.

The thesis will end with Chapter 6 presenting my conclusion. This chapter

will discuss the limitations of my study including looking at answering the question whether the methodology worked; present a summary of the findings and their originality i.e. contribution to (a) theory (b) empirical case studies in Taiwan and elsewhere (c) Taiwanese education history. It will conclude with a look at my learning journey: what I learned about doing research and what I learned for my family and our decisions about language and education for my daughter.

Chapter 2 – History/Background

On April 14, 1994 in an interview reported in the Central Daily News (international edition), Taiwan's former president, Lee Teng-hui, made the following comments in addressing the language problem in Taiwan:

I am more than seventy years old. Having lived under different regimes, from Japanese colonialism to Taiwan's recovery, I have greatly experienced the miseries of the Taiwan people. In the period of Japanese colonialism, a Taiwanese would be punished by being forced to kneel out in the sun for speaking Tai-yu. The situation was the same when Taiwan was recovered my son... and my daughter in law ... often wore a dunce board around their necks in the school as punishment for speaking Tai-yu. I am very aware of the situation because I often went to the countryside to talk to people. Their lives are influenced by history. (As quoted in Hsiao 1997: 302)

His words speak volumes and represent the Taiwanese experience of language suppression during the Japanese occupation and the Kuomintang (KMT) rule. Much of his experience is comparable to my participant's.

2.1. Introduction

My grandmother, Eleanor Luo, was chosen for this research because she lived through both the Japanese occupation of Taiwan and the KMT rule, and speaks multiple languages including Tai-yu, the local language of the Tai-yu, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. It seemed appropriate to interview her because not only was she accessible but also because of her experiences.

Two of Luo's peers, Dr. Lin and Dr. Lam were also asked to participate in

this research because of the similarities in their backgrounds. All three women are from the same generation, attended primary school in southern Taiwan during the Japanese occupation, and continued their higher education in Japan. Their children and grandchildren also have similar educational experiences as those of Luo's. However, Luo's narratives are the main focus of the research and its findings, and her peers' narratives were used as additional support.

For this thesis, I wanted to see if I could come closer to identifying the role of language and education on the construction of an individual's identity and if language and education had crucial roles, whether either could be overpowered by experiences including historical events, or if one could be more influential than another. In just Luo alone, the influence of different political and educational systems could be observed, as well as the influences or ideologies attached to language and education that could stress one over another and/or be compared to other factors as having a role in identity construction. Her predicament is different from immigrants who are more often studied and it is important to pursue this line of research for a number of reasons. First there are the personal reasons I described in the introduction. Secondly, it is also important for Taiwan to capture from informants such as Luo, the experience they lived and how they thought about it. Finally this case study will be a small contribution to the literature on the relationship of education, language and identity which has a wide-ranging significance in today's world.

Luo was born in 1919, soon after her father graduated from Meiji University

in Japan and towards the end of the ‘assimilation phase’ of the Japanese occupation. She received most of her education in Japanese during the ‘integration phase’ of the same occupation which I shall explain in more detail below.

As a child, she was surrounded by different languages. Her grandfather was educated in Mandarin, and her father in Japanese. Her father felt that education was important. Therefore at an early age, she would take lessons with the Mandarin teacher her father had hired for her mother but it consisted of mostly written language. They would speak Tai-yu at home. Local villagers would send their daughters to work in her family home because they would also receive some education from the missionaries that her father offered room and board for. Eventually many married officials because the officials liked that these girls had received language training and education.

She later attended 長榮女子學校 (Chang Rong Girls School) run by the Presbyterian church in Tainan, in the southern of Taiwan. At the age of eleven (1930), she was the youngest student at the school and accepted partially because of her father’s connections. According to Luo, her father was very busy running a newspaper with friends and therefore felt more comfortable sending her to a boarding school.

At the age of fifteen, on a trip to Tokyo with her father, she noticed that 東洋英和女子學校 (Toyo Eiwa Girls School) was accepting transfer students so she took an exam and was accepted by the school. She was one of the only two non-Japanese students at the school. The other girl was American.

During her sophomore year of high school she attended an exchange program that ended at Stanford University in the United States, sponsored by the Japanese government in hopes of fostering better relations between the countries. Later during her junior year in 惠泉女學院 (Keishen Women's College) the war broke out and therefore the school awarded her an early diploma and she returned to Taiwan immediately.

After the war, in 1949, the KMT came to govern Taiwan and her children were educated in Mandarin during martial law and her grandchildren educated mostly after martial law was lifted – some in Mandarin, others in English.

To better understand her self-identification development, it is useful to know the history of the country as it played an important role in the shaping of her ethnic and national identity. This thesis is contextualised by the Japanese occupation and KMT rule of Taiwan. Events that occurred during those times have left lasting impressions on the Taiwanese and have influenced Luo's views.

The first part of this chapter deals with the Japanese period from 1845 to 1945. It presents the general colonization policy, changes made to the island (e.g. modernization and infrastructure), and the education and the language policy implemented during colonization all of which has significant roles for developing identities.

The second part of this chapter deals with the Chinese Nationalist Party also

known as the Kuomintang (KMT) rule from 1945 onwards and is separated into early KMT years before and during Martial Law which was implemented in 1949, and after the lifting of martial law thirty-eight years later in 1987. In this portion of the chapter, political policies, including those of education and language will also be presented. These, in addition to historical changes, are likely to have been influential in identity construction and I will pursue this question in more detail later for this thesis.

2.2 The Japanese period from 1895 to 1945

In 1894, the Sino-Japanese war over Korea began (for more details see Long 1991, Davison 2003) between the Qing dynasty of China and Meiji government of Japan. Towards the end of March 1895, Japan occupied the Penghu islands, south of Taiwan, and began negotiations with the Qing dynasty. On April 17, 1895 with the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Taiwan and the Penghu islands were given to Japan (for more details see Wu 2005a, Long 1991). Taiwan became a colony of Japan for the next fifty years before a change of hands.

Many believed that since Taiwan and Japan shared cultural and ethnic similarities (Lin 2009, Lamely 1999) such as “shared Chinese characters and Chinese classical literature” (Takeshi & Mangan 1997:313), assimilation should have been smooth. However, overall “(l)ocal reaction to the Treaty of Shimonoseki was one of a sense of betrayal, presaging the anger felt at the twentieth century betrayals by the great powers” (Long 1991: 25). Some inhabitants of the island welcomed the Japanese hoping for order, but most

resisted the Japanese because they did not agree that China had the right to relinquish the island to the Japanese and fighting lasted for more than twenty years.

According to Lin (2009) and Liao (2006) there were four major stages of Japanese colonialism which parallels Japan's intentions for Taiwan. Between 1895-1919, the Japanese government tried to assimilate the Taiwan locals. Luo was born in 1919, but her parents and grandparents were very much entrenched in the system and had positive relations with the Japanese. Her father provided funding for Japanese officials who returned to Japan and were running for elections in Japan.

1919-1930 was the period of integration. During this time, the Japanese hoped the locals would feel as if they had more opportunities to "participate" in the administration and benefits of the colony, and intermarriage between the Japanese and Han were permitted (1922). Intermarriage aided in the cultural mixing (Brown 2004) which meant by the time Luo was born, though not encouraged, it could be seen.

Then from 1930 – 1937, it was more about "differential incorporation and coercion" (Liao 2006:2). It was at this time that Luo was attending her all-girls' boarding school which included only one or two Japanese children and later went to Japan for further education at a predominantly Japanese high school and university.

As the second Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937 and developed into

World War II, the final stage of Japanese colonization was “subjugation” (kominka, Japanization, imperial subjectification – which means individuals are subjects of the emperor and should serve the needs of the country and emperor– encouraged to take on Japanese names, believe in Shintoism, etc.) where every attempt was made to eliminate any concept of China as the fatherland and to instil the “Japanese” spirit in individuals. Taiwanese were pushed to adopt Japanese names, wear Japanese styled clothing and worship Japanese deities (Manthorpe 2005). After the fighting began, in 1938, Luo was given a diploma ahead of schedule and returned to Taiwan. This is a time that she remembers and comments on in her narratives.

2.2.1 Effects of Japanese Colonization

Population

Before the Japanese seized Taiwan, Taiwan’s inhabitants consisted mostly of two groups of people – the Han (persons with Chinese ancestry) and the Aborigines. Approximately 2.8 million Han and 130,000 Aborigines resided on the island (Takeshi & Mangan 1997).

Within these groups, further classifications were made (Brown 2004). For example, for the Han-Chinese people, a further category of Hoklo or Hakka was made. Hoklo, sometimes referred to as Min-nan ren (閩南人) or Taiwanese, refers to people who have ancestors from Fujian province in southern China. These ancestors would have arrived in Taiwan around the 17th and 18th centuries. In present day, Hoklo, Min-nan ren, and Taiwanese are often used interchangeably.

Hakka is a smaller group of Han people in Taiwan, but their origins are debated – whether from the Northern or central provinces of China. Hakka’s literal translation means “guests.” They are a migrant group of people who left their homelands to settle in different parts of China as opposed to people originally from the region. Their dialect is very similar to that of the Hoklo.

The aborigines were considered barbarians (Brown 2004, Takeshi & Mangan 1997) by the Han and as result of conflicts with the Han people, most aborigines had been pushed into the mountains by the time the Japanese arrived. Their numbers were small compared to the Han population (Gardella 1999, Davison 2003). However during the Japanese occupation, the most important distinction is between that of the Japanese and everyone else (Brown 2004).

When the Japanese arrived, the first household registration was executed. “Under Japanese colonial rule ... the peoples in Taiwan were classified by the notion of race which in practice, in the early Japanese household registers, looks a lot like today’s ethnic classifications” (Brown 2004:8). Later (1915), the classifications changed to Japanese and non-Japanese, but the original classifications are how many individuals, such as Luo identifies herself may change at different times.

Taiwan’s classifications, today, also include the mainland Chinese, otherwise referred to as *waishengren* (外省人), which literally means external province person. Waishengren refers to those who came to Taiwan from mainland

China with the Chinese Nationalist Party, also known as the KMT at the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949 and their descendants born in Taiwan. During the KMT's eventual take-over of Taiwan, and to a lesser degree today, people still differentiate between Waishengren and Taiwanese (or Benshengren – person from this land), which created friction between the groups and also struggles for individuals in identification with groups. For the people in Taiwan, the difference between Waishengren and Benshengren, though not always openly discussed, is entrenched in the thinking and socializing, as can be found hidden in the interviews conducted for this thesis.

For the purposes of this thesis, 'Taiwanese' refers to Benshengren, the people who arrived in Taiwan prior to the Japanese occupation and their descendants and 'Chinese' will refer to the mainland Chinese and their descendants that came with the Chinese Nationalist Party.

Colonial Model

The Japanese felt that they were justified in occupying Taiwan and this move was important for two main reasons. One, Taiwan would be a stepping stone to the rest of Southeast Asia and expansion would be the means for "economic survival" for Japan (Takeshi & Mangan 1997, Brown 2004). Secondly, by obtaining Taiwan, they demonstrated to the Western powers that they were as capable as them (Ching 2001, Brown 2004). Taiwan was to be the "model" colony of Japan (Ching 2001) because Japan wanted to prove that they could rule their possessions efficiently and thus "the result was a rule of harsh brutality when it came to crushing resistance, of ruthless

organization in exploiting the economic benefits of colonization, and of stifled economic and political development among the islanders themselves” (Long 1991:26).

The Japanese consulted both the English and French models of colonization (Lamely 1999, Wu 2005b, Takeshi & Mangan 1997). The French model of “assimilation” treated the colonized as part of the motherland and included its people in the legal system. The British model consisted of treating a colony as a separate system. During its colonization of Taiwan, the Japanese used mostly the British model of colonization but “in a more militaristic and autocratic way” (Takeshi & Mangan 1997: 312) and this has even been regarded as similar to German colonisation (Shibata 2004) “in its modernization strategies and the recruitment of military and civil officers from among colonial elites” (Liao 2006: 3).

Yet regardless of the model, it is easy to agree with Ching (2001: 19) when he says, “There might be historical and philosophical differences in the methods of colonization, but the fundamental structure of the relation between colonizer and colonized remains quite similar.” A hierarchy, however subtle, exists. In many cases, “The colonized means little to the colonizer” (Memmi 1991:83) other than for their own purposes. For the Japanese in Taiwan “... in order for the colonial regime to legitimize itself, there had been persistent attempts to differentiate the Japanese people both radically and culturally from their neighbours” (Ching 2001: 25).

“Neighbours” refers to everyone not Japanese. The Japanese established themselves as the superior race and culture and this separated them from the

colonized. Luo alludes to this hierarchy in her narratives.

In its initial stages though, the Japanese system of colonization was formed using concepts from the British colonization model. Taiwan was seen as a Japanese colony, but it had separate laws to govern the locals. Japan's laws were not applicable to non-Japanese persons in Taiwan, only to Japanese citizens. The hope was that laws and regulations would give special considerations to local Taiwan customs in order to reduce opposition. With this structure in place, a division between the two groups was clearly defined.

In theory, the consideration of local customs in the creation of regulations would be ideal, yet the Japanese did not understand these customs and the Taiwanese were not familiar with Japan's modern methods and thus conflicts occurred.

For example, the Japanese would sterilize residents' homes against infections, yet for the local people, this was an infringement on their customs because the rooms of unmarried daughters could not be entered (Wu 2005a). Such policies were enforced by the police, of whom the majority was Japanese (Long 1991). The Taiwanese were only added to the police force later because of a lack of Japanese manpower.

Modernization/Infrastructure

Though large conflicts between the Japanese and locals in Taiwan existed for so many years and continued on different levels, it is not fair to deny the positive changes that the Japanese made even though it was often for the

needs and benefits of Japan.

The Japanese encouraged cultivation of sugar canes, rice and camphor. Japan lacked these items and Japanese capitalists invested in new refineries.

Accounting and banking systems were introduced and the Bank of Taiwan was founded in 1899 and able to issue silver and gold backed currency (Lamley 1999). In 1911, Taiwan currency was unified as well as weights and measurement systems (Lamley 1999, Wu 2005a).

Sanitation and infrastructure changes were also implemented (Phillips 1999, Lamley 1999, Gardella 1999 etc.). For example, people were no longer allowed to urinate on the streets (Wu 2005a) and improvements were made in reducing the number of cholera and smallpox cases (Lamley 1999). Modern pipes for a running water system were built. These were beneficial to all even though the intention was that Japanese from Japan would be willing to move to Taiwan as a consequence. Railways throughout the island were built, seaports were finished and opened (Lamley 1999, Wu 2005a, 2005b, etc.) which encouraged communication and allowed for transportation of goods. Land surveys to document information were positive as they found a lot of land previously unregistered and though taxes increased tremendously over the years, at least a system was in place (Gardella 1999). Services, such as career counselling, postal service and roads to mountain areas were provided (Lamley 1999, Wu 2005a, etc.). These transformations aided in Taiwan's modernization, all of which Luo saw remnants of and feels she benefited from.

These policies also aided the Japanese in gathering intelligence. The Japanese colonial government used local government offices, police stations, and schools to extend their control of Taiwan society (Wu 2005b). Local government offices were mostly involved in the notification and propaganda of policies and the Japanese police in Taiwan enforced policies and dealt with societal issues.

The Japanese police bullied the locals and intentionally tried to make life difficult (Wu 2005b). One story told as an example is of a local vendor giving a Japanese policeman a discount. The policeman turned around and accused the man of using a faulty scale and the vendor was given corporal punishment. In addition, Japanese policemen had the authority to punish those accused of offenses and this often led to flogging ordered by the police as opposed to judgment handled by the courtroom (Lamley 1999). This is an example of how the Taiwanese were constantly reminded that they were second class citizens and had limited rights.

Goto Shimpei, one of the most influential colonial administrators of the time, stated that it would “take at least eighty years of cultural assimilation before the Taiwanese could be elevated to the level of the Japanese” (as quoted in Yanaihara, *Teikokushugi ka no Taiwan*:184 in Ching 2001: 25). Despite his attitude towards the Taiwanese, Goto helped in Taiwan’s modernization and also played an important role in Taiwan’s educational changes, including compulsory education.

2.2.2 Education policy

Early policies

The Taiwanese needed to be converted to “Japanese” in order to fully “serve the economic needs of Japan proper and the military needs of the Japanese base established there” (Grajdanzev 1942: 323) and education was needed for this conversion. Yet, the Taiwanese were still considered second class citizens (Phillips 1999, Brown 2004).

“Discrimination with respect to educational opportunities seemed a suitable policy to Goto” (Lamley 1999: 211). He found the Taiwanese to be of an inferior race and did not believe they could achieve what the Japanese could, and therefore it was unnecessary to waste resources. Yet it was during his administration that an education system was established. Schools for girls were also founded under his administration whereas before Taiwan was a place where only boys used to be schooled. Initially, however, there were still no schools for the aborigines.

It was then in 1895 that the Japanese established compulsory education for children in Taiwan, because it hoped that through schooling its political aims could be achieved. At that time, Education Minister, Isawa Shuji (1851-1917) felt it was important for the locals in Taiwan to learn the Japanese language and compulsory schooling would achieve this goal (Kloter 2006, Takeshi & Mangan 1997, Scott & Tiun 2007). The first school opened in 1895 (Lamley 1999, Wu 2005a, Takeshi and Mangan 1997, etc.) and by 1940, there were 845 public schools (Davison 2003).

Early in the colonization, three types of schools were established and, depending on ethnicity, children attended different schools. Taiwanese children attended kogakko (public/common school). Japanese children attended shogakko (elementary school) and Aborigine children attended banjin kogakko (barbarian public school) or no school at all (Brown 2004, Lamley 1999). The shogakkos received more resources, than the kogakkos which were for the “inferior” children (Takeshi & Mangan 1997: 318).

Segregation was strictly enforced at every level and it was difficult even when Taiwan students were allowed to enter the schools for Japanese citizens. This type of discrimination was part of the colonial policies (Lamley 1999). Even the names of the school reflect the hierarchy of the colonizer and the colonized as did the restrictions on what could be studied.

Japanese, the chosen “national language was foreign to the linguistic community it was forced upon” (Kloter 2006: 1). Yet, Japanese was chosen as a national language because the Japanese government intended to make Taiwanese part of the Japanese community; in this respect following a French rather than British model. “That tongue, as the colonizer’s language, is by definition a political product and this is shaped by an unjust power relationship” (Chang 1999: 262).

In addition to “national language” of Japanese, all primary schools taught daily living knowledge, ethics, math, science, history (Japanese), government rules, and national ideology (Wu 2005a). In the beginning of the colonization (1899), classical Chinese and Confucian ethics were also taught (Lamley

1999, Takeshi & Mangan 1997).

Policies from the 1920s

It was only in the 1920s that a shift in the educational policies came about. In 1919, Governor-General Akashi Motojiro suggested that “while keeping the segregated system of education intact” more opportunities in vocation should be given (Davison 2003:65). Then in 1922, Governor-General Den Kenjiro instigated an increase in the number of public and primary schools. In addition, he emphasised “routes to higher education not on the basis of ethnicity but rather of competition in the Japanese language” (Davison 2003:65). “Taiwanese intellectuals of the period often used Japanese as a means to acquire skills and knowledge for modernization, while at the same time cultivating their Chinese identities in order to resist Japanese influences” (Liao 2006: 5). This situation has been noted in other colonized countries such as Indonesia (Anderson 1991).

In alignment with the educational policies to decrease the amount of Chinese use, Chinese writing in newspapers was abolished in 1937, followed by the elimination of Chinese writing in stories and magazines (Lin 2009) and spoken Taiwanese language was not allowed (Wu 2005b).

In the late 1930s, education continued to emphasize the Japanese language mainly due to the Chinese-Japanese war. It became more critical to impose “emperor” education and make Taiwanese students into followers of the emperor’s regime (Wu 2005b, Brown 2004). In fact Emperor Worship was a ritual performed at school (Takeshi & Mangan 1997) and Taiwanese were

encouraged to worship Japanese deities (Wu 2005b, Long 1991). Even with all these transformations, the “people in Taiwan [continued to] experienced clear categorical differences between themselves and Japanese which left them with a sense of non-Japanese identity” (Brown 2004:9). These policies merely highlighted differences. On one hand, they were being encouraged to convert to “Japanese” through education of what it means to become Japanese but on the other hand the Taiwanese were being reminded of how they were actually different from the Japanese.

Textbooks reveal policies and perspectives, and it is clear that the Japanese considered regular Chinese textbooks to be barbarian books and eventually replaced them with their own (Wu 2005a, Scott & Tiun 2007). The Japanese used education as “a gateway to Japanese culture” and it assisted in transforming the Taiwanese into Japanese subjects and also helped them assimilate into the Japanese system (Takeshi & Mangan 1997: 315, Long 1991:29).

In 1941, the Japanese colonial government unified all the different types of elementary schools into the same school system, named kokumin gakko (national school) and primary education between the ages of eight and fourteen was compulsory. Taiwanese born after the Qing rule received all their education in Japanese and this new group of educated Taiwanese were more concerned with modernization and even began enrolling their children in primary and secondary schools in Japan, but the children still faced discrimination (Lamely 1999).

Higher Education

In general, the Japanese were not keen on providing higher education to the Taiwanese. By denying access to higher education, the Japanese colonizers were able to maintain control and superiority over the locals. The Taiwanese could receive higher education, but it was mostly limited to Education and Medicine (Lamley 1999) because study of History and Literature were considered politically dangerous. Those who entered the fields of medicine and education were mostly the elite Taiwanese class.

It was also mostly the elite Taiwanese who travelled to Japan for higher education including university. This trend is partially because they had the financial means and also the “approval” of the colonizers (Davison 2003). Luo’s father was permitted by the Japanese governor to attend universities in both Japan and in the United States. Without this approval, he would not have been allowed to go.

The numbers of Taiwanese receiving higher education increased substantially from 2400 in 1922 to nearly 7000 gaining entrance to Japanese universities in 1945. Though accepted into the higher education institutions, the Taiwanese in Japan still faced discrimination (Wu 2005b) but according to Luo, it was not as severe, as we shall see in the chapter analyzing the interviews.

2.2.3 Language Policy

Early in the colonization, the Japanese did not strictly prohibit Mandarin or

Tai-yu. The Japanese realized that the Japanese language was completely foreign to the Taiwanese and therefore incorporated Mandarin and spoken Taiwanese (Tai-yu) into the education programme and also encouraged Japanese teachers to learn the locally spoken language (Kloter 2006) initially. It was only later in the colonization that the Taiwanese were forced to speak and write in Japanese because it became more important that the people be assimilated into the Japanese ways and language was a means.

When Taiwan was first colonized, much local literature appeared in Mandarin, as Tai-yu did not have a standardized written format. Mandarin writing was considered more sophisticated than Japanese writing at the time (Takeshi & Mangan 1997). Slowly, writers began to incorporate Japanese into their writings which, though mainly Mandarin, might have spoken Tai-yu incorporated (Davison 2003). Gradually, with policy changes requiring only use of Japanese and education only in Japanese, Japanese became the dominant language of literature and communication publicly.

This change in use of language reflects the influence of Japanese education and language policy on the literature produced by Taiwan's writers.

“Beginning around 1933 ... Taiwanese writers tended to favour Japanese as their medium of expression, and from about mid-1936 almost no Chinese was used by Taiwanese writers ...” (Memmi 1991:89). This change occurred even before the Japanese completely banned Chinese in literature in 1937. By the time the KMT took over in 1949, many Taiwanese mainly read and wrote in Japanese. Tai-yu existed often secretly in the home and Mandarin writing was limited.

Language was a powerful tool in controlling the colony:

[Goto] suggested that the larger the gap between the ‘civilized’ and ‘uncivilized’, the easier it was to control a colony, and that because a wide gap between the ‘civilized’ and ‘uncivilized’ did not exist between the Japanese and Chinese, the Japanese had to make strenuous efforts to establish political distance as rulers by imposing their own language and culture on the colonized (Goto Simpei, *Nihon shokumin seisaku ippan* (Tokyo 1921: 18) as quoted in Takeshi & Mangan 1999:316).

The gap was not naturally wide enough in Goto’s view so language played an important role in separating the two groups. Language ability would be a natural divider, and even if the colonized learned the language, it would take time before they become fully fluent and before then, the Japanese would still have an advantage.

Overall, the Japanese efforts to transform Taiwan had a lasting effect.

Education deeply penetrated the lives of the Taiwanese. Many of the older generation who grew up in the Japanese colonial times, still use Japanese as their language of communication, such as in speaking with their friends, television watching, newspaper reading, and letter writing. They have never fully transitioned into Mandarin which was later imposed on them. For some, it is because it was hard, for others it was symbolic of what they believed.

During the Japanese occupation “many Taiwanese, especially the elite, became very Japanized, particularly through education” (Brown 2004:55) but this does not mean they identified themselves as Japanese. Luo was one of those that held onto her Taiwanese identity though later in the findings, it

will be shown she thought that the Japanese efforts to transform the Taiwanese into thinking they were “Japanese” was effective.

2.3. The KMT period from 1945 to after Martial Law

From the time China ceded Taiwan to Japan, the Taiwanese gradually grew detached from the mainland, but did not necessarily see themselves as Japanese either (Lamely 1999). This could have, again, been a result of the differential treatment they encountered. “The Taiwanese relied upon their collective memory of Japanese rule to create frameworks for evaluating and interaction with the Nationalist government” (Phillips 1999:276) and when compared, the period of Japanese rule was considered orderly compared to the KMT approach (Brown 2004, Manthorpe 2005, etc.).

The Cairo Declaration of 1943 is a document of intention of which representatives of the United States (Roosevelt), United Kingdom (Churchill) and Republic of China (Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek) made regarding Japan and Korea. It included two points of interest in regards to Taiwan; Japan would return territories won from China, including Taiwan, to the Republic of China and Korea would become free and independent.

The reason for the ongoing debate regarding Taiwan’s political position, as to whether it is a province or nation, stems from this time. There are those who believe that the ownership or governorship of Taiwan was not specified and some question the validity of the agreement. Even the United States State Department admits that the Cairo declaration was just an “intention” and

does not indicate that Taiwan is ceded to China (Kerr 1992). Korea's independence was also an important point for the Taiwanese because it was backed by the Allies and many Taiwanese saw this as hope that they would receive similar support, but that did not happen.

When the KMT arrived, many Taiwanese were no longer "Chinese" in many ways as a result of fifty years of Japanese occupation and education. In fact, many Taiwanese had no idea who this "motherland" was (Wu 2005b, Kerr 1992). Upon hearing of the change to come, some Taiwanese welcomed the change of power believing that the new government, being of the same race, would treat them equally or that they would be liberated; but this opinion changed quickly (Wu 2005c, Brown 2004, Kerr 1992, Phillips 1999, etc.). Others believed that they would finally be liberated in the sense that Taiwan would be granted its freedom; hoping that United States would help support this (Kerr 1992, Lamely 1999). Instead, Taiwan was "given" to China by the western allies who didn't actually have ownership or control over the country and was, once again, governed by "outsiders" (Lamely 1999:247).

When the KMT first arrived in Taiwan, it still had a stronghold in parts of China but was still in battle with the Communist Party. After being defeated in China in 1949, Chiang Kai-Shek retreated to Taiwan with more troops and people. China declared itself the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the KMT's government remained the Republic of China (ROC). Chiang Kai-shek continued to maintain that he and his government were the rightful rulers of China and it was only a matter of time before he returned. It was very important to his regime that the Taiwanese were rid of their Japanese

ways and thoughts and made “Chinese” in preparation for when the two lands would be reunited and the idea that there was to be one Chinese culture and one Chinese language was a driving force in its policies.

2.3.1 Martial Law

The KMT had limited knowledge of Taiwan and were not aware of the people’s dislike of the Japanese and therefore the KMT assumed that the Taiwanese were “Japanese” and needed tight social and political control to convert Taiwan’s inhabitants into “Chinese” (Phillips 1999, Kerr 1992). They did not consult any colonization models, but took their warring experience to convert Taiwan to what they felt was necessary and this may seem similar to the Soviet model of government at the time.

When the troops arrived, they did not expect to see a country with modern facilities, a high literacy rate, and an orderly government. Many KMT members were unfamiliar with paved roads, mechanical devices, and had received less education than the Taiwanese on the island (Kerr 1992, Manthorpe 2005).

During the early KMT years, corruption, inflation and tensions were high (Wu 2005c, Brown 2004). Goods, raw materials, and equipment left behind by the Japanese were sold by KMT members for personal profit (Brown 2004, Kerr 1992). Within a few months of the KMT government’s arrival, Taiwan experienced shortages of grain. More banknotes were issued which led to inflation (Wu 2005b). Inflation rates were 3400 percent in 1949 and

only lowered to 3 percent by 1961 (Brown 2004). Inflation rates grew so high that one month's salary could not pay for one day's expenses (Kerr 1992). Wholesale prices of items increased 7000times (Yu 2009). Unemployment rates also rose. When the KMT first arrived, approximately 40,000 – 50,000 people were employed. Fourteen months later, only fewer than 5000 people were employed (Kerr 1992). People moved to the countryside not inhabited by the Aborigines which was favourable to the Chinese. Chen Yi, then governor of Taiwan, felt that by returning to a farming life, the Taiwanese would be “reduced to the familiar conditions of mainland provincial life, the easier it would be to manage the economy, KMT-style” (Kerr 1992:142). These experiences made the Taiwanese resent the KMT even more and refuse to identify with them.

In addition, in the eyes of the Taiwanese, the newcomers were unsophisticated and incompetent. Stories are told of soldiers stealing bicycles, but carrying them because they did not know how to ride them (Kerr 1992, Manthorpe 2005). Kerr (1992) also retells an incident in which a young policeman displayed incompetence. The officer fired randomly inside a theatre hoping to find a suspect, but none was found. Incidents like this made the Taiwanese prefer the Japanese (Yu 2009).

February 28 Incident

Between 1945 to 1947, many Taiwanese publically criticized the KMT government for corruption and tensions rose and exploded into what has become known as the 228 Incident (Liao 2006). February 28 Incident in 1947 is a significant event in Taiwan history as what followed was

transformation of Taiwan's national and ethnic identity (Liao 2006). The incident and the events following depict the cruelty towards the Taiwanese. The lasting effect is continued bitterness towards the Chinese and contributed to many decades of the two groups remaining split even on a social level.

On February 27 a policeman from the Taiwan (Formosa) Monopoly Bureau, which oversaw the selling of tobacco, saw a woman selling what he believed was illegal cigarettes in Taipei. He tried to arrest her and in her attempts to resist, she died (Durdin 1947b) though some recounts say an innocent bystander was shot instead when the crowds gathered and the police sent bullets into the crowds (Wu 2005c, Kerr 1992, Long 1991). On February 28, more protests around the city continued. A crowd of approximately 2000 people marched with banners to the Monopoly Bureau Headquarters demanding a death sentence for police who had killed the night before and resignation of the Bureau Chief as well as reform of the government's monopoly policies, dissolving of the military, and self-rule (Kerr 1992). After the Chinese employees were escorted out of the building safely, the Taiwanese set the building on fire. Though the KMT government agreed to the terms, they continued to randomly kill Taiwanese (Wu 2005c, Kerr 1992). Foreigners described the act as "unjustified" retaliation towards the demonstrations of unarmed persons (Durdin 1947a).

The March Massacre immediately followed the February 28 Incident. From March 2 – March 6 the killings had spread to other cities. If someone could not speak either Japanese or Tai-yu, then the Taiwanese knew he was a mainlander and would fight back (Wu 2005c) or flee into the mountains to

hide. For the mainlanders, it was more of random killings (Kerr 1992). The massacre was non-discriminating. It did not matter if the individual had participated in any protests or not. Members of the Taiwan elite, students, doctors, lawyers, journalists, assemblymen were also hunted and murdered. People who spoke English or had connections with the foreign community were also targeted. Between March 8 - March 13, more than 700 students were taken. Poorer sections of the cities were filled with dead bodies (Durdin 1947a) as well. The estimation is 10,000 Taiwanese were killed (Durdin 1947a) and many believe more (Kerr 1992). The Damsui and Keelung Rivers were filled with bodies (Kerr 1992, Wu 2005a). This clash shows the resistance between the ruler and the ruled, and can be considered a clash between ethnic groups as well – the Taiwanese and the Chinese.

Martial law was declared in May 1949 and people's rights and freedom restricted till 1987. The structures of the government during this time also solidified the dominance of the Mandarin-speaking Chinese over the larger population of Taiwan. Speaking languages other than Mandarin was not allowed. Regulations preventing unlawful assembly, association, procession, petition, and strikes were established. Censorship of newspapers, magazines, and books was strict. At the beginning of martial law, newspapers could only have six pages. Pages were increased to ten in 1967 and 12 in 1974 (Taiwanese Society under Martial Law Remembered) and often filled with propaganda.

The period of martial law is also referred to as “White Terror” and during this time the Chinese policy of eliminating “Communist Spies” which is

anyone who had expressed opinions about KMT party or criticized them (Wang 1999, Yu 2009, etc.) prevailed. This extended to non Taiwanese as well. Luo remembers this to be an attack on the Taiwanese people and feels it was a way for the KMT to signify their power and superiority.

People were jailed under the assumption that they were communist.

Advocates of Taiwan Independence would be tortured and/or beaten for confessions. People would be snatched without warning from their houses, work, school, or on the streets and notification of deaths to family could be years later. Intellectuals and the social elite were targeted out of fear that they would resist the KMT rule. Family members would also be charged if they could not find the person originally being searched for. Most people were captured between 1950-1952 (Kerr 1992) but even in 1967, people could be picked up, charged, and receive a death sentence. Approximately 4000-5000 people died (Yu 2009).

2.3.1.1 Educational Policy

The educational policy of KMT was a Sinonization programme intended to make everyone a Chinese nationalist or at least strengthen the people's Chinese identity. The government controlled the curriculum content and most of the subjects, including language, literature, history, and character formation, were centred around China. Taiwanese related information, such as history, was not allowed. Primary textbooks, for example, praised the virtues of Chiang Kai Shek, the self appointed leader of Taiwan, and his fight against communism. Civics, moral education, life and ethics were important

courses in the curriculum. Military personnel were also allowed on campus to monitor the behaviours of the students and teachers.

In 1950, there were 1504 schools and 1,055,000 students enrolled. In 1968, compulsory education was extended from elementary to junior high and by 1979 there were 4950 schools and approximately 4,570,000 students. In 1970, over ninety percent of the population was already literate. Schools also taught children to respect the national symbols, including the flag, and national anthem which was the KMT party song (Hughes 1997). Pictures of Chiang Kai-Shek and Sun Yat Sen were hung on classroom walls. National anthems were sung at school, in movie theatres and before events. All in all, it was an intense process in transforming the children into “Chinese.”

There was no official segregation in the schools. Both Taiwanese and Chinese children attended public schools. However, experimental schools, such as the one that Luo put her two of children into, were predominantly Chinese students with very few Taiwanese ones. Mandarin was the only language allowed in school. If a student spoke Tai-yu, they would be punished, often physically.

2.3.1.2 Language Policy

“The choice of Mandarin after 1945 was [again] steered by the notion that Taiwan was a province of China and that Mandarin represented the national language of China” (Kloter 2006:10) and the KMT government had every

intention to bring the two countries together. If the KMT was to reclaim China, they needed the new ROC to be “Chinese” and Mandarin would be an indicator that they had achieved this (Hughes 1997). Thus the language shift would be critical: language was a symbol of being “Chinese.”

Between 1945 – 1949, nearly two million people immigrated to Taiwan from China and although they came from different parts of China and spoke a variety of “dialects”, they were unified by their common language of Mandarin. The language policy of promoting a unified Mandarin language as the national language was similar to that of China, but even more effective (Ping 1996). [China at that time because of the different dialects had to also create a national language to gather its people.] The word Mandarin in Mandarin, Guo- yu, literally translates into “national language” and was used to ‘de-Japanize’ and ‘re-Sinicize’ the Taiwanese (Hsiau 2000). Under the KMT policies, the Taiwanese were forbidden from using their native language, and had to adopt Mandarin and align themselves with the Chinese identity rather than a separate one (Hsiau 1997). Mandarin became the language used in public places.

This change in the national language from Japanese to Mandarin, which most people in Taiwan could not speak or understand (Kerr 1992, Brown 2004, etc.) was not an easy transition. The two languages are not mutually comprehensible. Phonetically many of the words are not similar. For example grandmother is “nai-nai” in Mandarin but “a-ma” in Taiwanese. Also, there was no formal writing for Tai-yu, unlike Mandarin.

In 1946, the Commission on the Promotion of Mandarin (CPM) stipulated that the national language was the only language to be used on all educational levels. For many students educated in Japanese, this left them functionally illiterate (Hsiau 1997) and strict enforcement of this policy continued for many decades. Speaking any other language or dialect resulted in fines or punishments. One punishment included wearing a “dog card” around the neck suggesting that the non-Mandarin speaker is equivalent to a dog (Hsiau 1997). Situations like this, made students ashamed of speaking their native language of Tai-yu and in association, being Taiwanese.

“Taiwanese came to feel that their dialect, literature, poetry, songs, and drama were all inferior to Mandarin and the cultural works of the mainland” (Wachman 1994:108). Being able to speak properly accented Mandarin came to represent being educated and superior to those who could not speak Mandarin (Wachman 1994). Aboriginal languages were not addressed in the mainstream since most Aborigines were secluded in the mountains away from the major cities (See Brown 1996, 2004 for more information).

Media

In order to get rid of Tai-yu and any other language or dialect other than Mandarin, the KMT government also made good use of media as a form of what Chen (1981) refers to as “social education.” The first television station in Taiwan was established in 1962. The KMT specified that non-Mandarin programmes could not exceed 16 percent of total programming (Hsiau 2000). By 1972, the government imposed more restrictions, stating that ‘dialect’ programming could not exceed one hour per day (Young 1988). Eventually it

was recommended that non-Mandarin programming needed to decrease every year.

In addition, the government subsidized Mandarin-language programming which resulted in higher budgeted productions with better quality (Young 1988). Tai-yu programmes or broadcasts were viewed as being of lower prestige (Hsiau 2000). This display of media quality discrepancy also played into reiterating the superiority of the Mandarin population.

In 1965, only the national language could be spoken during office hours and in court, regardless if the participants could understand the language or not (Hsiau 1997). Fluency in Mandarin was also a pre-requisite for government positions. This made it extremely difficult for Taiwanese to gain access to such positions. In order to gain upward mobility or to function efficiently in the society, Mandarin became a necessity. The push for Mandarin continued into the 1980s stipulating only Mandarin allowed for speeches, official business negotiations, and conversations in public.

The pressures to learn Mandarin were quite successful. In the end, the enforcement of the language policy and the efforts of schools proved successful because “many young people from Taiwanese families now speak the national tongue more fluently than the Taiwanese dialect” (Chen 1981:71). Towards the end of martial law, most Taiwanese families had two generations educated in different languages – Japanese and Mandarin, as was the case in Luo’s family. Only the home language, Tai-yu, remained consistent. Tai-yu became a predominantly home-only language and heard

less publically. The KMT government, like the Japanese, had reduced this language to the private space and downgraded it to a language of inferiority. Luo recognized the necessity for “better” Mandarin and sent her two eldest children to a school with mostly Chinese students and fewer Taiwanese students because she considered the Mandarin level to be higher.

2.3.2 End of Martial Law and onwards

Martial law was lifted on July 15, 1987 by then president, Chiang Ching Kuo, and freedom of speech slowly allowed. Steps to democratization and liberalization began. Chiang announced that new parties could be established as long as they did not interfere with the one China policy, which meant the parties could not support Taiwan independence (Hughes 1997). The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was established in 1988, and many of its leaders who had been jailed during the White Terror period, emerged to the public surface. The first Taiwanese (non KMT) president was elected in 2008 and served for eight years.

The way that people identified themselves slowly changed after years of martial law being lifted. According to a poll taken by the Taiwan Ministry of Education (MOE) website, it was noted that individuals who identified themselves as “Taiwanese” increased approximately 20% in the early 1990s to 36% in 2000, and 60% in 2006. People who identified themselves as “both Chinese and Taiwanese” decreased from approximately 60% to 30% currently.

2.3.2.1 Education Policy

Education policies, along with changes in the political sphere, contributed to this identification change being possible. Slowly the curriculum shifted from “centralization” (Japanese and KMT times) to “de-centralization” (after martial law) to “individualization” or what Law (2002) refers to as “Taiwanization.” The first changes began with inclusion of material on Taiwan history, geography and society. Previously students learned about China and knew very little about Taiwan. Now they would have at least three hours per week learning about Taiwan. Other materials from martial law, such as readings that focused on sacrificing for the nation, idolizing of its leaders, and barbaric actions of aboriginal people, slowly diminished (Law 2002).

Deregulation of textbooks occurred (Law 2002, Tu 2007). Now, individual schools can choose which textbooks they use at school and teachers are allowed to put together their own teaching materials. Elementary, secondary, vocational, and universities have more autonomy now than before (Law 2002, Mok 2000).

Higher education is more accessible as well. Since the 1990s, the previous method of entrance exams is no longer the only mechanism for admittance. Students can now choose to apply to universities through the Academic Achievement Test and other records or take the single examination. The government is also working to support lower income students who wish to attend private schools at all levels. This has slowly dissolved the notion that

education, especially higher education, is for the elite and technical schools are for the lower class (Tu 2007).

Changes in language attitude at schools have occurred as well. Localization began to emerge as something people wanted promoted. The concepts of “Mandarin-Only” shifted to “Mandarin-Plus” (Scott & Tiun 2007). Since 2001-2002, ethnic languages such as Tai-yu and Hakka have become options at elementary school as a second language. Aboriginal languages are not currently an option. In addition, students in grades 5-6 are required to learn English (Law 2002). Again, language and education seem to factor into the identity process.

2.3.2.2 Language Policy

Slowly after martial law was lifted, the use of languages other than Mandarin in public became more widely accepted. Now it is very common to hear Tai-yu or Hakka spoken, but Mandarin continues to remain the “national” and official language.

Language tolerance allows for different identities to emerge and be equal to one another and as before, schools play an important part in the implementation of language policies. The link between ethnic identity and language is not as clearly defined as before. “Speaking Mandarin is no longer necessarily associated with being a *waishengren* among the younger generation” (Scott & Tiun 2007: 68) and along that line of thought, by the time the Mandarin speaking children attend higher levels of education, the

difference between the “Chinese” and the Taiwanese have been diminished – the common language being the reducer (Chen 1981).

Mandarin has gained the same status as English on many levels globally over the last few years with the economic development of China. It continues to be the national language of Taiwan and main language of instruction. In even more recent times, those who see themselves as “Chinese” have gained an advantage when conducting business with China but it is still possible to hold onto both identities.

2.4. Conclusion

During each period of rule, the Taiwanese have tried to maintain their own Taiwanese identity, whether it be national, ethnic, or cultural. These identity categories have co-existed, sometimes being of the same and other times varied. Someone could be Chinese by nationality/citizenship and Taiwanese by ethnicity for example.

Historically, segregation plays a critical role in highlighting differences which make identities more apparent. The use of language to create this divide happened multiple times. “Despite the colonial ideal of ‘Japan and Taiwan as one,’ social relations are coordinated and perpetuated by persistent ‘difference’ between the colonizer and the colonized” (Ching 2001: 198-199) and this made it easy for individuals to identify themselves as one or the other. With the promotion of Mandarin-only, the KMT government essentially did the same as the Japanese. Though the people are usually

considered of the same “race” the Chinese and Taiwanese identity became more of a “regional” identity of either being Han or non-Han (Brown 2004: 9&29):

The mentality in each case featured a continuous civilization, shared ancestry and a common language. Directed at Taiwan, it not only aimed to erase internal differences among people, creating a unique cultural/linguistic/ national identity with well- defined boundaries to exclude others, but also effectively changed the cultural and language landscapes.(Wei 2008:62).

Taiwanese identity construction, which Luo encountered, is linked to the historical consequences of the country and the languages suppressed and encouraged. Heylan (2005) suggests that language is a cultural and ethnic marker of identity. Many Taiwanese families continued to speak Tai-yu despite its ban and it could be suggested that the language ability helped them hold onto their Taiwanese identity across generations. Concepts related to identity will therefore be further explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 – Literature Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to identify literature which will be useful in the analysis of the data in later chapters and to locate this research in the field of research which deals with language, socialization (education), identity and culture (as embedded in language). I believe that identity is comprised of educational, cultural, and linguistic influences; therefore all three concepts need to be visited. All of these are complex issues and I will only attempt to select and analyze literature which will be useful and not to present a full review.

Overviews of these issues can be found in *Self and Social Identity* edited by Marilynn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone, *Experiencing Identity* by Ian Craib, *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts* edited by Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackledge and *Language and Culture: Reflective Narratives and the Emergence of Identity* edited by David Nunan and Julie Choi. I consulted these as part of the background to this chapter.

The first stage will be to analyze the notion of identity, which Moscovici & Paicheler (1978: 255) consider to be “as indispensable as it is unclear”. After that a brief discussion on education and socialization’s role in identity construction will be presented followed by a brief discussion on the intricate relationship of language and culture. The chapter will end with a look at the relationship between language and identity before reaching some attempt at a conclusion.

3.1. Identity

“We live in a world where identity matters” (Gilroy 1997:301). Multiple views, definitions and categories of identity exist, and identity has been studied by researchers in a variety of contexts. The concept of identity, as well as its process is one that is complex. For the purpose of this thesis, I will look at identity as having fluid, context-dependent, and multiple faceted characteristics. I will also look at the relationship between identity, education, and language (including culture), as they are intertwined and also reflected in my participants’ narratives.

3.1.1. What is Identity? – General Analyses

The sameness of a person or thing at all times or in all circumstances; the condition of being a single individual; the fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else; individuality, personality. Who or what a person or thing is; a distinct impression of a single person or thing presented to or perceived by others a set of characteristics or a description that distinguishes a person or thing from others.

(OED online)

The OED definition of identity when used about persons focuses on ‘sameness’ and uniqueness, and the ‘single’ person who has something distinct about them. This ordinary, everyday use of the word is refined in scientific language and made more complex.

Kanno (2003:3) refers to identity as “our sense of who we are and our relationship to the world”. “Identity is the quality of any collectivity that leads its membership to identify with it” (Dittmer 2004:476). Our identities

are constructed through an ongoing process between the internal self and external frameworks imposed by others which occur during participation in context (He 2006, Gilroy 1997, Crease, Bhatt, Bjojani & Martin 2006) or what Bucholtz & Hall (2005:608) refer to as “the social positioning of self and other”. The emphasis here is on the relationship of the internal and external, as formulated in the notion of ‘social positioning’.

This focus on the relationship of self and the external world is further refined by Pavlenko and Blackledge in their focus on how people tell the world about themselves:

...identities [are] social, discursive, and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social spaces and social prerogatives.
(Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 19)

Identities are created in order for individuals to claim a position in their surrounding environment. Other researchers add to this the importance of ‘belonging’ and finding what is in common, as well as unique: “Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others” (Weeks 1990:88 as quoted in Nunan & Choi 2010:3). Another approach is to see identity as ‘performance’ - a notion which expresses the relationship between individual and group. It is a “performance verbally and nonverbally, of a possible constellation of attitudes, beliefs, and values that has a recognizable coherence by the criteria of some community” (Lemeke 2002:72). Identity is based on how individuals fit or do not fit into groups.

3.1.2 Characteristics of Identity

Once this general question of the individuality of the person and the relationship of the individual to the external world and other people has been established, researchers turn to the more detailed analysis and attempt to define the ‘set of characteristics’ identified in the OED definition above. Here the Identity can possess many characteristics such as being fluid, multiple, and context- dependent.

Let us first take a look at more detailed descriptions of the internal characteristics: fluidity and multiplicity

3.1.2.1 Fluidity

Identities are fluid (He 2006, Nunan 2010:182, Harrell 1996:4, Bucholtz & Hall 2005:586, Miller 2000, Brown 2004) and constantly being “modified and reconstructed” (Parmenter 2000: 4) as they are “ negotiated, validated, challenged or changed as social interaction develops in real time” (He 2006: 18). It is not something that is stagnant and fixed (Brown 2004).

The changing nature of identities makes it possible to see identity as a process or a production but not a finished product: “We should think of identity as a ‘production’ which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (Hall 1993: 222). Identity is not merely “a collection of static attributes or as some mental

construct existing prior to and independent of human actions, but rather as a process of continual emerging and becoming, a process that identifies what a person becomes and achieves through ongoing actions with other persons” (He 2006:7).

It is also because of the fluid nature of identities, that they can be manipulated (Harrell 1996) or “imposed” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 19) as has been shown historically in cases of colonization when leaders try to enforce loyalty or diaspora when people try to assimilate into new cultures: “Any government that wishes to gain the loyalty of its citizens must convince them that they are citizens by virtue of their historical and cultural attachment to the nation and that this attachment is a long, glorious, and immutable one” (Harrell 1996: 4). In order for colonization to occur, governments attempt to manipulate identities by “emptying the native’s brain of all form and content” and in doing that also try to change or destroy the native’s history too (Fanon 1963: 170 as referenced in Hall 1993: 224). It is an attempt by the colonizer to reinvent the history so that the colonized display loyalty and allegiance to the new government or “country.”

Hall (1993) found this in his study of Black Caribbean and Luo experienced this during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan which will be discussed in Chapter 5. These changes, however, do not always succeed and may have an opposite effect in which people sense that they are “different” and choose not to become the loyal citizens hoped for by the dominating government. In the process, individuals may take on different identities, adjusting to what is necessary. The concept of one nation and one identity is difficult and may no

longer be possible despite a government's efforts and changes in our world (Anderson 1991, Ros i Solé 2004, Lawuyi 1990).

Identities also fluctuate according to the needs of the individual. "... new identities, based on an individual's perceived commonalities with certain people and on their differences from others, arise as the structure of local communities, kin groups, and languages and their patterns of usage changes with demographic, economic, and cultural change" (Harrell 1996:5). In addition, the "thresholds" between what is same and different are not stagnant and can be moved (Gilroy 1997:303). These changes in identity can be partially intentional, habitual, and unconsciously performed as individuals interact with others; and the identities created are often a result of how individuals want to be presented and/or represented as well as a result of processes and structures of the social environment (Bucholtz & Hall 2005).

3.1.2.2 Multiple Identities

Pavlenko (2004) views identity "as a dynamic and shifting nexus of multiple subject positions, or identity options, such as mother, accountant, heterosexual, or Latina..." (35). Individuals can hold many identities (Parmenter 2000; Crease, Bhatt, Bhojani & Martin 2006, Hall 1993, etc.) simultaneously and identify as members of multiple social and cultural groups, as well as ethnic groupings.

An example of multiple identities could be Singaporeans who consider themselves ethnically Chinese, but nationally, Singaporean. In New Zealand,

Maori people identify themselves as having “multiple ethnicities” (Matthews & Jenkins 1999). In the case of Taiwan residents, they can be culturally Chinese, but politically Taiwanese (Wang & Liu 2004). Both Chik (2010) and Choi (2010) found themselves most comfortable as possessing a “hyphenated” identity which includes more than one culture. The co-existence of multiple identities is fairly common.

Language can also play a crucial role for multiple identities because language is not fixed and subject to change as well. Learners of language can use language to become members of different communities, whether ethnic, social, or cultural (Ros i Solé 2004). By speaking a variety of languages, more social group options are seemingly available, therefore the possibilities of multiple group identities increasingly becomes possible. Language can provide such an access and this access allows for different experiences and understandings which would not necessarily be accurately interpreted by persons who do not know the language (Pavlenko 2002). Therefore it suggested that language can broaden an individual’s social identity inventory by providing the access into various groups (Wei 2008) that would otherwise remain as the “other” because of the inability to communicate and the inability to create any deeper understanding. More on the relationship between language and identity will be further explored later in this chapter.

The next group of descriptions regarding identity focuses more on the nature of the relationship of the internal and external. This is referred to as ‘context dependency’ which is further refined by discussion of the types of identity or the types of relationship between the self, the world and other people.

3.1.2.3 Context Dependency

Identity construction is a social process and identities can change through daily interactions (Gilroy 1997, He 2006). “As the product of situated social action, identities take on an emergent quality and may shift and recombine, moment by moment, to meet the new circumstances” (He 2006:12) and even long lasting identities can change (Harrell 1996) because the changes and choices concerning identity are a social and not a natural phenomenon. Our identities are determined because of social actions and not inherent (Gilroy 1997) and often because of the desire to belong to a group (Worchel & Coutant 2004).

Depending on the needs of an individual, s/he may choose to express one identity over another at any given time. Often this choice can be for the social advancement or political allegiance to a group, but usually because it makes life easier. Some people in Taiwan who once considered themselves Taiwanese, now refer to themselves using the overarching term Chinese (Wang & Liu 2004) which includes all sub-groups of Chinese, including mainland Chinese, Cantonese, and Taiwanese because this allows them political neutrality and more access to China. Identities can, therefore, be both a resource and a handicap, and the exhibiting of identities is dependent on circumstances and context in which individuals are involved in (Cornell & Hartmann 1998).

In summary, identity is context dependent, constantly changing, and multiple

ones can co-exist. Identity is something that is complex, involves social, cultural, and “interactional phenomenon” in which the “construction does not reside within the individual but in the intersubjective relations of sameness and difference, realness, and fakeness, power and disempowerment” (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 608). Identity is a place where individuals can express who they are (Lemeke 2002) through their actions. “...our gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientations, among other characteristics, are all implicated in this negotiation of identity” (Norton as quoted in Nunan & Choi 2010:3).

3.1.3 Types of Identity and relationship of internal and external

Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) discuss three different types of identities: “*imposed identities* (which are not negotiable in a particular time and place), *assumed identities* (which are accepted and not negotiated), and *negotiable identities* (which are contested by groups and individuals)” (21).

An example of imposed identities would be those of certain Jews during Nazi Germany who did not feel that they were Jews, but were still classified as such and exterminated (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). In Luo’s time, the “imposed identity” may not have been purely ethnic or national, but one of inferiority as well. During the Japanese occupation, Taiwanese were taught that they were inferior and this inferior Taiwanese identity was further reiterated during the KMT rule.

Assumed identities are identities that are usually not negotiated, but have an

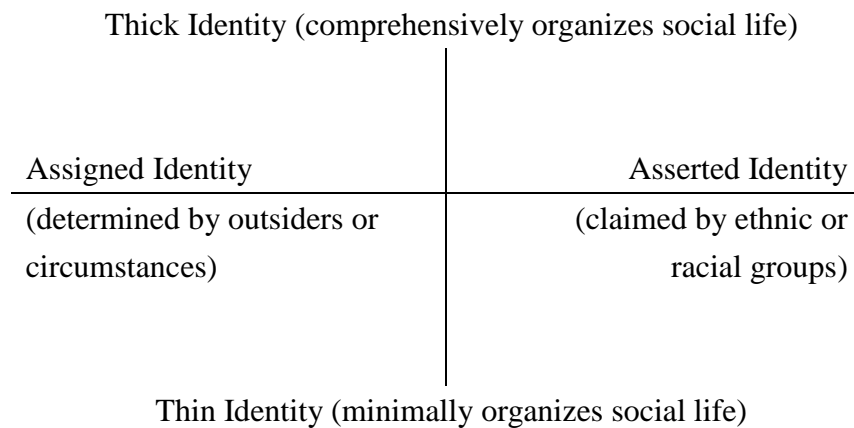
“optional” component to them. They may be assigned, but are usually just accepted and not contested. An example would be immigrants arriving in America in the early 1900s who were required to change their names. By taking on a new name, they also assumed new identities. Another example would be in order to be British, one would need to speak English (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). If the individual does not speak the language, then s/he would not be considered British. In Taiwan, during the 228 incident (2.3.1), language would indicate the assumed identity of an individual. If a person did not speak Taiwanese or Japanese, he would be automatically considered a mainland. National, ethnic, and gender are all possible assumed identities.

Negotiated identities, on the other hand, are the identities that “can be - and are - contested and resisted by particular individuals and groups” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:21). Ethnicity and nationality, race, class and social status, sexuality, and religious affiliation are all possible identities that can be negotiated. These identities can also be negotiated in the home, with peers, at schools and other educational sites, workplaces, and even through policies on language. In the case of Luo, she held onto her ethnic identity despite all the “negotiations” that seemed to occur in her surroundings.

Murphy-Lejeune(2002) would consider this as adaptation to one’s surroundings and suggests this change involves copying, borrowing, and use of cultural knowledge.

Cornell & Hartmann’s (1998: 83) use a quadrant to depict the relationship between ethnic and racial identity, which is similar conceptually and could be applied to identity in a more general sense as well.

Figure 1 - Two Axes of Variation in Ethnic or Racial Identity



Cornell & Hartmann's (1998) "assigned" identities and "assumed" identities are similar to Pavlenko & Blackledge's (2004) "imposed identity" and "negotiated" identities respectively. Depending on the impact the identity makes on the lifestyle, it will fall into different quadrants. Both sets of researchers are noting that identities fall along a spectrum of being given and being chosen.

3.1.3.1 Social and cultural identity

Another group of researchers approach the question of identity by emphasizing the relationship of the individual with the world and deal with the same issues from a different perspective, although there are some overlaps.

Tajfel's (1981) theory of categorization includes the categorizing of the "self" and involves awareness, evaluation, and affect. According to Tajfel, this

self-categorization process is what defines our self-identity (Tajfel 1981). Social identity is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that group membership” (Tajfel 1981: 255). The social identity perspective emphasizes that we need to understand intergroup relations as physiologically meaningful, as an expression of how people define their social identities, an interaction between their collective psychology as group members and as the perceived social structure of intergroup relations (Turner & Reynolds 2004, Abrams & Hogg 2004).

This ongoing categorization of self and others is based on “comparative relations” (Oaks, Haslam, & Turner 1994) in which individuals make comparisons between themselves and others in order to distinguish themselves from others. Additionally, an individual “requires on-going validation of his/her place in a given environment...” (Su 1999: 54). In order to maintain a stable sense of identity therefore this constant comparison of self and others is essential (Worchel & Coutant 2004). Through the process of comparison and reinforcement, individuals are able to maintain their identity.

What's more, individuals derive social meaning through social interactions (Tajfel 1981, Ager 1992). “The process involves both the application of stereotypes to others and the depersonalization of self. Depersonalization means that the self-inclusive category becomes self-defining. Social identity is the perception of self in terms of stereotypical in-group attributes”

(Abrams & Hogg 2004:155). Usually the discussion on identity is centred on individuals as being “unique individuals, [however,] there are many situations in which they think, feel, and act primarily as group members” (Ellemers 2012: 848).

This concept of the “group self” though seemingly contradictory in its term suggests individuals, when in a group situation, will take on the views, emotions, and even characteristics of that group as their own, and in that sense, they have lost their sense of the self. The group self is the “part of people’s self-view that is based on the groups to which they belong...” (848). In traditional perspectives “people help each other because this indirectly benefits themselves, because of genetic overlap in families or because of ethnic and cultural similarities...” (848) but the concept of group self suggests that individuals take on the group perspectives and characteristics as their own, and act accordingly because they believe it will benefit them directly, as opposed to indirectly. It is natural for individuals to want to belong and be recognized as members of a group, and though there is the “group self”, it does not mean that people relinquish their feelings of individual distinctiveness entirely either (Ellemers 2012). However, it can be difficult to separate the self and the group self, whether it is putting the “self” in the group or the group self affecting the individual.

Social identity and social identity theory helps us to focus on the relationship of individual not just to the outside world in general but to specific groups. Cultural identity refers to the relationship of individuals and members of particular groups and what it is they share, including history, traditions,

religious beliefs, ways of behaving etc. It encompasses the “identities which people construct on the basis of their memberships of cultural groups” and may be considered a “particular type of social identity”(Barret, Byram, Lazar, Mompont-Gaillard, Philippou 2013:5).

Both social and cultural identities are about the defining of similarities and differences in and amongst groups. Cultural might suggest that it deals more with “cultural” aspects such as history, traditions, and ancestry and “social” tends to refer to gender, class, and age, for example .

3.1.3.1.1 Cultural identity

Hall (1993) describes cultural identity in two ways. The first approach towards culture identity is “in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’ hiding inside many other, more superficial or artificially imposed ‘selves’” (Hall 1993: 23). It suggests that cultural identity is based on a shared culture consisting of a shared history, historical experiences, ancestry and cultural codes (Hall 1993). This identity remains at the base of one’s cultural identity built on stable cultural factors that are “unchanging” and exists beneath what Hall refers to as the “shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history” (Hall 1993: 23). A shared sense of common historical experience and shared cultural conventions is important in providing a stable unity among group members.

Hall’s (1993) second approach to “cultural identity” is also about the similarities and differences between social groups but contains the element of

change and adaptation. In his discussion of this Hall introduces the important concept of 'positioning' which emphasises the capacity of the individual to choose and determine:

Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation...

Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence but a *positioning* (Hall 1993: 225-226 – emphasis in original).

Hall's first definition is concerned with continuity and the second definition refers to the opposite, change and discontinuity. In his first definition, individuals are positioned by others. In the second definition, individuals place themselves in relation to a group.

Since 'cultural identity' refers to a range of groups, I need to consider the ones which may prove useful later in the thesis in the analysis of data – ethnic and national identity.

3.1.3.1.2 Ethnic Identity

According to Appel & Muysken (2005:12), "Everything that differentiates a group from another group constitutes the group's identity. Although there are not fixed criteria, a group is considered to be an ethnic group with a specific ethnic identity when it is sufficiently distinct from other groups." This rather

general definition – which could be another description of social identity – needs to be refined and these so called “distinctions” have been discussed by various researchers and I now take a look at some.

“Ethnicity is a universal social phenomenon. Every society has some degree of ethnic diversity” (Yu 2010:1). It “is a profound social category linked to other social dynamics, such as class and gender” (Zhu 2006: 9) and often presumes that there is an association with a place, history, language and culture (Hall 1992). Yu (2010:134) agrees and adds territory and economy as factors to the combination. Cornell and Hartmann (1998) also emphasize the importance of a common descent in relation to ethnicity.

Nagel (1998) maintains that culture and history are the basis for ethnic identity construction. Cultural items, according to Nagel (1998), are comprised of the cultural items such as art, music, norms, beliefs, myths, symbols and customs that individuals choose from “shelves of the past and present” (251). It is a “shopping cart” of items selected (Nagel 1998).

What fills these “shopping carts” of ethnic identity can be different. Fenton (1999:10) as referenced in Zhu (2007:19) suggests ethnic identity is comprised of “ancestry, culture, and language which are subject to change, redefinition and contestation.” This definition is different from the previous one because it adds the element of language and suggests change as well.

Other “carts” may include additional items and emphasis. For example, Yu (2010) finds that ethnic identity is concerned with the cultural and historical

aspects of ethnicity that an individual associates himself with, but stresses “a commitment and a sense of belonging to one’s ethnic group, positive evaluation of the group, interest in and knowledge about the group and involvement in activities and traditions of the group” (13) to the mix. Yu is suggesting an individual would need to be actively involved in identifying with the group by being aware and aligned with the group’s views and traditions. In addition, the individual would need to have developed a positive view of the group based on some form of assessment. However, changes in both perception and definition can occur.

As we have seen, the two terms, ethnicity and ethnic identity, are often used interchangeably, but Keefe (1992) argues “that the term ethnic identity is more usefully reserved for the symbolic dimension of ethnicity and must be analytically separated from the cultural and social dimensions to develop an informed understanding of their makeup and interrelationship” (36). Ethnic identity, one of the three dimensions of ethnicity, according to Keefe (1992: 35) “encompasses the perceptions of and personal affiliation with ethnic groups and culture”. This is similar to the concepts of positioning as suggested by Hall (1993) and Bucholtz & Hall (2005).

Keefe’s other two dimensions are ethnic culture and ethnic group membership. Ethnic culture “refers to the pattern of behaviours and beliefs that sets a group apart from others” (35) and ethnic group membership “refers to the network of people with whom an individual is in contact, and the ethnic affiliation of those people and the groups they form” (35).

It is difficult to separate all three dimensions proposed by Keefe, therefore for the purpose of this thesis, I advocate that ethnic identity encompasses all three dimensions. Ethnic identity has been associated with having one or many factors including language proficiency and use, knowledge of ethnic cultural beliefs, participation in the cultural activities, and sentiment towards the ethnic language, as well as sentiments towards the dominant language (Tse 1996). Ethnic identity is concerned with “the distinctiveness of two or more socially reproductive groups that are in contact yet set apart in cultural, structural, and symbolic ways” (Keefe 1992:37).

Fenton (1999) in Zhu (2007) takes a different position in putting emphasis on ethnic identity as a social process that involves the producing and reproducing of culture, recognition of one’s ancestry as well as the ideologies passed on by ancestors, and the use of language as a marker of ethnic identity that sets apart one group from another. Ethnic identities are constructed in context, and simultaneously, these identities create a context too (Cornell & Hartman 1998). It is a process of ongoing interactions within the self’s internal psychological and external social forces (Tse 1996) and individuals will “accept, resist, choose, specify, invent, redefine, reject, actively defend” identities (Cornell and Hartmann 1998: 77) as well. Ethnic identity may also be constructed through “both self-motivated allegiance and forced identity due to prejudice and discrimination” (Keefe 1992: 37) which is usually “linked to politics, defined as the power to control and regulate the availability and distribution of resources” (Dorais 1995: 295). This political link to identity and the presence of discrimination is shown in Luo’s narratives also.

Ethnic identity can also be related to family, community, race, or nationality. It is not something that is readily discussed by ordinary people unless something triggers the need to categorize this difference. “Chinese, Japanese, Thai, and Korean Americans were just that until Asian identity became a force for political and social change in the 1960s” (Harrell 1996:4). It is when differentiation is necessary that “(e)thnic identity emerges through a process of sustained interaction between two or more ethnic groups. Without this kind of interaction, there is little consciousness of being a member of one cultural group among many” (Keefe 1992:38).

Ethnic identity thus has similar characteristics to any other type of identity. It is based on the interactions between an ethnic group and individuals. The identification process includes how individuals and the ethnic group as a whole perceive themselves, how others perceive them, and how they react to others’ perceptions of themselves. Contextual changes will also attribute to ethnic identity transformations on both an individual or group level (Zhu 2007: 46). The social interaction and perceptions of individuals and others are important. Therefore, as with any type of identity, context and experience are influential.

Development of Ethnic Identity

“Ethnic identity, like other dimensions of human growth and human development, cannot be achieved instantaneously, but requires time and nutrition. It is a complex phenomenon, and develops from growth and experience” (Yu 2010:134) and again, this collective identity can be based on

shared historical, cultural, and political experiences (Hall 1992).

Waters (1990) suggests that the differences in cultural practices between ethnic groups are not as distinct anymore, although the sense of ethnic distinctiveness exists. He gives examples of immigrants to western countries who still maintain a strong sense of belonging to their ancestral pasts. For other individuals, they recognize one ethnicity, but practice another (Yu 2010).

Some researchers, such as Farely (1995) rather than stressing the importance of ancestry, focus more on culture symbols, including language, values, patterns of behaviour, as what holds and defines an ethnic group by themselves and by others rather than ancestry. Brown (2004) would go further to argue that identity is not about the culture or the ancestry, but about the social experience.

The differences (including all those previously mentioned) in what defines ethnic groups seem to be best separated by Ross (1979) as referenced in Appel & Muysken's (2005) categories of ethnicity. The first category is "objectivist" which suggests that ethnicity is "defined by its concrete cultural institutions and patterns: a distinctive language, distinctive folk tales, food, clothing, etc." and the second category is more of a "subjectivist approach" in which ethnicity "reflect(s) a shared us feeling"(Appel & Muysken 2005:13). The individuals in the group may not wear the same clothing, share a religion or even speak the same language, but the "us-feeling or the us-against-them feeling – overrides the importance of other objective factors

not shared” (Appel & Muysken 2005:13). Luo’s accounts indicate both ethnic categories, but the latter of the “us” versus “them” feeling definitely contributed to her ethnic identity as we will later see.

3.1.3.1.3 National Identity

National identity is related to how people see themselves in relation to their country. “National identity can be defined as an individual’s psychological attachment to a political community united by characteristics that differentiate that community from others” (Wang & Liu 2004: 570-571). This suggests that national identity does not necessarily have to be a direct connection to the physical “country”. The connection can also be fostered through a common language, culture, ethnicity, descent or history. When a piece of land is not what binds the people together, “imagined communities” (Anderson 1991) are created.

According to Anderson (1991), nations are imagined political communities, limited, and sovereign (5-7). Its members will never meet everyone in a community; a community that is bound by “elastic boundaries” which separates it from others. Nations are also sovereign because no other nation has authority over them. This puts a strong emphasis on the political and political relations which differentiates discussion of nationality from ethnicity. National identity is important when governments try to enforce their policies. If the people believe they are aligned to a government or a common nation, they are less likely to resist. Therefore to create loyalty by building a national identity is important.

In Taiwan's situation, national identity during the Japanese era fell into Taiwanese (including Aborigine) and Japanese. More recently, since the lifting of martial law, national identity seems to fall into four categories: "the Taiwanese nationalist identity, the pro-Taiwan identity, the mixed identity, and the greater China identity" (Wang & Liu 2004: 576). Within these identities, Wang & Liu (2004), in their research, also separated the people into two groups before further distinguishing – those who believe that Taiwanese and Chinese cultures are different and those who believe that Taiwanese culture is a part of Chinese culture. This shows that even within a national identity, there can be multiple meanings of what that identity entails.

One important agent in creating a group identity, especially that of national identity - an allegiance to a nation - is the education system and I turn to this next.

3.2 Education and Socialization

Socialization is an important part of identity construction and Doyé (2003) suggests there are at least three dimensions of socialization, cognitive, moral, and behavioural; and it takes place in two phases, primary and secondary. Berger and Luckmann (1966) discuss these two segments of socialization. Primary socialization is the first social experience of an individual and happens during childhood, usually in the home and with family members. Secondary socialization follows primary socialization and is usually outside of the home in places such as schools and in the related communities.

Identities begin to form in the home and continue throughout life, and can change with experience (Worchel & Coutant 2004). “An individual who has gone through a process of secondary ... socialization is not the same as one who has not: his identity has changed” (Ager 1992:158).

3.2.1 Secondary Socialization

Secondary socialization is “the internalization of institutional or institution-based ‘sub-worlds’ ... The ‘sub-worlds’ internalized in secondary socialization are generally partial realities in contrast to the ‘base-world’ acquired in primary socialization” (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 158). At this time, the “partial realities” are added onto the “base-world” created during primary socialization.

3.2.1.1 Education and Secondary Socialization

Cornell & Hartmann (1998), Omni & Winant (1994), and McCarthy (1998) are among researchers who support the theory that education or schooling has a significant role in the shaping of identity in individuals. This type of education occurs during secondary socialization. “The effects of schooling on the identity, attitudes, and aspirations of students are significant because the school represents the major institution for socializing the young” (Yu 2010:2). During this time individuals learn specific languages for their roles, as well as skills and the ability to understand and use the language (Berger & Luckmann 1966). An individual will internalize new information and render a subjective identification with a role. Awareness of similarities and

differences between the self and others, which can affect identity, are also brought to light.

In further discussion of the role of education, the emphasis can be placed on the creation of commonalities: “Education is an instrument to help the state to achieve common national goals, redefine ethnic identity, and unite diverse ethnic minority cultures” (Shih 2002:2). This, it can then be argued, creates the conditions for control: “Schools function to socialise the younger generations politically, ideologically, and culturally for the hegemonic ruling of the state...” (Zhu 2007: 289). In all of this, it is argued by others, that both formal and hidden curriculum are significant, which includes school rules, ceremonies, rituals, and routines (Apple 1995, Giroux 1985, Zhu 2007).

Against this background of discussion of the relationship of schooling and state in the creation of national identities and ‘subjects’, a number of theories about the roles of schools and how they reflect society have emerged over the years and argue in different but related ways on how schools reproduce society and social structures.

Reproduction theorists for example believe that schools reproduce the hierarchies, dominant culture, and social conditions of society and “education makes possible the reproduction of those essential value orientations, it is central in determining the manner in which ethnic groups and ethnic minorities integrate themselves into larger societies...” (Zhu 2007:13) (See also Apple 1999). Bowles and Gintis (1976) also propose the idea that schools are not in the business of promoting equality, but rather to

teach information that corresponds to what is existing in the capitalist world, and they have been followed by others (e.g. Zhu 2007; Giroux 1983.) Schools are closely related to the economic world, therefore there exists a relation between power and dominance in the school and schools and the economy.

Bourdieu (1977) on the other hand believes that schools are autonomous and therefore do not necessarily reflect society. He finds cultural capital to be the driving force in the reproduction of social relations and order in schools rather than economic foundations. Commenting on Bourdieu, Giroux says that cultural capital consists of “the different sets of linguistic and cultural competencies that individuals inherit by way of the class-located boundaries of their families” (Giroux 1983a:268). Bourdieu himself (1977: 83) also argues that students themselves contribute to the dominant cultural capital seen in schools. The problem with this theory is that it overlooks the dynamics between the minority groups and the dominant groups and the understanding of the minority group of the dominant culture (Feinberg and Soltis (1998) as mentioned in Zhu 2007).

Dominance is a reoccurring concept in all these theories. Hegemonic state reproduction theory argues that the state controls the schools and what is taught in the schools, is state determined. Althusser (1971) has used the term “Ideological State Apparatus” to address the methods by which organizations transmit ideology and considers the educational system as the dominant ideological state apparatus because it readily transmits the ideologies to the masses. Individuals leave educational institutions with knowledge of where

they fit into society and have a concept of their supposed role in that society. Athusser's (1971) ideas are however criticized because it is believed he does not give enough importance to opposing views and the struggles with ideologies students experience in the school (Apple 1982).

Despite the differences in opinion on the roles of schools, there is overall agreement that education plays a role in the identity construction of individuals. The purpose of education is to assist in the identification of where an individual stands in society and to create harmony. Schools help create and recreate the conditions necessary for smooth governing (Zhu 2007) and ideological hegemony is reached through the experiences at school (Apple 1995). "Schools not only control people; they also help control meaning" (Apple 2004:7) and serve as an agent for dominant view promotion.

Within this overall argument that schools reproduce society, ethnic identity and national identities are also affected (Lowe 1999, Yu 2010, Shih 2002, Zhu 2007). "Among these complex historical processes schooling and school systems, as well as other modes of information education, have proved repeatedly to be key devices of the development and transmission of a sense of nationhood. At times, too, education has been used as a device for the denial of nationhood and the imposition of beliefs and values..." (Lowe 1999: 231-232). Education continues to play a role in the creation of nationalism. Through courses such as social studies, geography, history and language, students form attitudes and loyalty towards a nation and this is how a general sense of nationhood is transmitted (Yu 2010, Law 2002).

Yet, in the attempt to promote the concept of national identity, schools can also affect ethnic identity. Schooling can contribute to construction of identity on one hand and simultaneously be used to eradicate an identity on the other hand. Schools can contribute to identity by choosing to either transmit, promote, alter, lessen or completely eliminate an identity, including that of ethnic identity (Gerard A Postiglione in Zhu 2007).

Balsera's (2005) research on Spain's twentieth century education system and national identity found that schools had a significant role in instilling a "general culture based on common language" (24). The incorporation of a national language provides a basis for individuals to unite because it creates a common factor. In addition, the promoting of the national flag, national anthem and related traditions contribute to the national identity that is already being transmitted through coursework. The national flag and the national anthem are symbols in which people can easily identify with and relate to.

In Luo's lifetime, both the Japanese and the KMT included history and language in their teachings. History was to teach the people where they were from, whether it was the actuality or not, and language to incorporate them into their "group". Traditions such as respect for the national flag and singing of the national anthem are used to solidify identification with a nation. The enforcement of a national language seemed to have the greatest impact on Luo, over other implementations. However, the success of such programs depends on various factors.

3.2.1.1.1 Curriculum and language of instruction

More specifically it is through the concept of ‘curriculum’ that schools fulfil their role in secondary socialization and reproduction. We have seen for example that the transfer of traditions is important but Apple (1993: 222) states “... curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge... It is always a part of a *selective tradition*, someone’s selection, some group’s vision”. Thomson (2003:83) would agree and further suggests curriculum to be “a set of practices that are historical and political, constructed in a particular time for the particular purposes, and working in particular interests and with particular effects”.

In Taiwan’s case, for example, before the democratization in the 1980s and 1990s, topics such as Taiwanese literature, language, and history –such as the 2/28 incident (2.3.1) – were forbidden in the curriculum (Chen 2004). School curricula were very much focused on China and only Mandarin was to be spoken during the KMT rule, and Japan and only Japanese to be used during the Japanese rule (Wang & Liu 2004). For each period of time, the curricula in schools were aiming to help create a sense of attachment and loyalty to the government in power.

In cases where there is an intentional lack of information, students may become more conscious of their differences from the mainstream, such as in the case of Tibetan students – they became more ethnically conscious (Zhu 2007). Keefe (1992:38) also found “experiences outside the family, especially in school or the workplace, are of secondary importance in

shaping identity – often more through exclusion ...” This consciousness of “exclusion” of information was also experienced by Luo and she saw firsthand the “exclusion” between groups, which will be discussed in a later chapter.

Curriculum is often altered to meet the desires of the government (Thomson 2003, Conley 2003, Wirt, Mitchell & Marshal 1985) and closely linked with the historical situation of that nation at a given time. Ideas that the government wishes to promote are included in the curriculum. Even today, textbooks used in schools are influential in the shaping of identities. In the case of China and Taiwan, history textbooks spread different versions of cross-strait relations. The most basic difference is that in Taiwan’s textbooks, Taiwan is an independent country and in China’s textbooks, Taiwan is a province of China. The histories are construed in order to develop citizens who are unified in their beliefs.

However, as Balsera’s (2005) research suggests, programmes can fail and the expected citizens do not develop. In Spain, Spanish became the official language, but individuals continued to speak their own languages (Balsera 2005). This is similar to the experiences of the people in Taiwan. During the Japanese occupation, a national or “official” language was imposed, yet many held onto their native language at home.

3.3 Primary Socialization (Family)

Even before secondary socialization begins at school or in the environment,

primary socialization already exists at home and identity is a basic part of how individuals understand familial relationships (Hall 1993).

According to Berger and Luckmann, primary socialization is “usually the most important one for an individual” (1966:151). During this time, our significant others, such as our parents, will filter information about the world to us. Their “culture” will also be passed on. Family members create for us an “objective social structure” and “objective social world” (Berger & Luckmann 1966). The individual then “takes on the significant others’ roles and attitudes ... internalizes them and makes them his own... [and] in the process takes on [the significant other’s] world” (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 152); and in doing so, an identity is created.

Yu’s (2010) and Keefe’s (1992) are two of the multiple empirical researchers on ethnic identity that agree with Berger & Luckmann’s (1966) theory. Yu found family to be “the vital place in which to socialise children on the basis of ethnic identity” because family members would “help individuals learn about their cultural backgrounds and develop pride in their ethnic identity” (2010: 133). Keefe (1992: 38) states: “In all aspects of ethnic identity, it is the family that figures most significantly in the individual’s identification with an ethnic group.” It is with the family that lasting impressions are made (McAdams 1993).

It is also through ongoing interactions with family members that individuals come to recognize their ethnicity as well as develop a sense of self, values, and beliefs. With family is where individuals are probably most able to

practice and learn the values and culture of a group (Yu 2010). What individuals learn and pass on from one generation to another through family members are not merely values, but culture, traditions, and language as well. Social gatherings are important for these transmissions.

Families also have an important role in language acquisition and maintenance, which has been seen in studies about mother tongue languages and second language learning. Yu's research showed that:

Families play a pivotal role in the question of language, and among the Naxi students and their parents, there are opposing points of view about speaking the Naxi language. Some families are in favour of their children learning the Naxi language, while some are not, and some believe it does not matter whether one can speak the Naxi language or not. The priority for many was learning Chinese and English.

(2010: 134)

Familial choices are often made based on the family's outlook or what they feel is necessary for their children. The decision that takes place, will affect the child and at times, they might find the maintenance of the ethnic language in contradiction with that of the "national" language (Brook 1980).

Luo's identity, her impressions of her nationality, ethnicity, and the role of education definitely were influenced by her father, as well as her education. Her father's role in the Taiwanese movement and her education at home, in Taiwan, and in Japan profoundly affected her perceptions.

3.4 Culture and language

If we think of identity as being concerned with either belonging to or not belonging to a group, we need to consider culture as something that differentiates us because it is what is shared by a group.

There are many definitions and discussions of “culture”, such as it being a set of shared norms, beliefs, and collective thoughts. For the purpose of this thesis, the emphasis will be on the role of culture in identification with a group, in particular, an ethnic or national group.

Knowledge of how to belong to a group is what culture represents or as Wu (2006: 62) suggests, culture is “the norms, attitudes, values and beliefs” that individuals hold and share within a group. Culture is “public” because its meanings are shared (Geertz 1973). Meanings are “inherited” and expressed in various “symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (Geertz 1973:89). Communities acquire similar views about topics and the world. These “cultural” views and behaviours are “solidified” over time which makes it seemingly like “natural behaviour” (Kramsch 1998b:7) which becomes internalized through socialization.

However, culture, just like identity also changes over time and is not “one worldview” (Kramsch 2004:255 as quoted in Nunan & Choi 2010:4).

Pennycook, for example, emphasises the notion of struggle and power and for him culture is a “process by which people make sense of their lives, a process always involved in struggles over meaning and representation” (1995:47). Agar on the other hand puts the emphasis on the multiplicity of

groups and therefore cultures to which an individual belongs: “Culture is always *plural*” (2006:7) as it refers to an assortment of cultures experienced by an individual and it is something that is always changing. In the traditional sense, culture is “closed” and what used to traditionally represent a culture continues throughout generations, but this concept of culture is no longer appropriate (Agar 2006).

Agar also created the term “languaculture” to show the relationship between language and culture. The culture in “languaculture” is about language users using more than just the grammar and vocabulary associated with that language, and more importantly the “biography, the nature of the situation they’re in, history, politics – material from pretty much every discipline that’s ever dealt with people” (2006: 2). The term suggests that language and culture are linked, and the relationship of language and culture is a complex issue. Here I shall focus on what is important in this relationship for the later parts of the thesis, since language was a large part of Luo’s life and thus the inclusion of language in this discussion.

Language can play a pivotal role in identity construction and maintenance. It is closely linked to culture which is what sets individual identities apart from one another. It can either be part of the culture or a conveyer of the culture, or both, as Agar’s term suggests. Put in different but parallel terms, language is attached to ideologies (Davison & Lai 2007) and ideologies are represented often in the form of culture. Language is not only able to represent parts of a culture’s ideologies, but it is also a means for individuals to express that culture, and Fishman draws attention to the significance of a

long term link of language with a particular culture:

A language long associated with the culture is best able to express most easily, most exactly, and most richly, with more appropriate over-tones, the concerns, artefacts, values, and interests of that culture. That is an important characteristic of the relationship between language and culture, the indexical relationship. (Fishman 1994:72)

It has been validated through observations and research data that languages do carry with it, “social meanings and social connotations” (Appel & Muysken 2005:12).

Fishman makes a stronger claim in saying he believes that “the language stands for that whole culture” and suggests that losing a language is losing the culture which consists of “the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing, and the human reality that you are talking about” (1994: 72). Post martial law in Taiwan, many promoters of the local languages would agree since they felt that “language is the carrier of culture, and the decline of a language is symptomatic of the atrophy of a specific cultural tradition on which one’s ethnic identity hinges” (Hsiau 1997: 310).

3.5 Language and Identity

Language is not only linked to culture and the life of groups, but to group identities as well; it is a ‘natural’ link: “... there is a natural connection between the language spoken by members of a social group and that group’s identity” (Kramsch 1998b:65) and individuals draw upon the shared

language use for a “sense of social importance and historical continuity” (ibid.: 66). Though some such as Kramsch (1998b) and Wei (2008) attempt to differentiate cultural and linguistic identity, it doesn’t seem always necessary to do so. If culture is embedded in language, as I would argue, then there is an element of identity overlapping when using those terms.

Crease, Bhatt, Bhojani, and Martin (2006:25) also argue that it is primarily “through language” in a given context that identity construction occurs. This connection could be mostly due to the fact that “...the words people utter refer to common experiences (...) express facts, ideas or events that are communicable because they refer to a stock of knowledge about the world that other people share” (Kramsch 1998b:3). It is the interpretations that allow for us to form a sense of community (Kramsch 1998) and when maintained, language can become “the clearest label indicating the continued identity of a particular group...” (Wei 2008:160) and the “primary way in which individuals demonstrate their membership and allegiance to a community” (Christison 2010:78).

“Language is commonly understood as a primary source for enacting social identity and displaying membership of social groups” (Miller 2000:69). It “...is *the* most sensitive indicator of the relationship between an individual and a given social group” (Kramsch 1998b: 77) and also “one of the first markers of a certain ethnic group and has the strongest effect in maintaining solidarity in a group” (Waters 1990:116). It is a marker which can create discriminative or privileged experiences (Heylan 2005) and linguistic divisions are often a reflection of societal group divisions (Appel & Muysken

2005). This is possible because language is a social phenomenon and exhibited through interaction. The choice of using one language over that of another can also be seen as an “indicator of identity” (Ager 1992: 160). “Language is a *social certainty*, which serves to identify the speaker and to place him in a particular relationship with the address” (Rubin 1983:9 as quoted in Watson 1992:102).

Language can also be a source of identity negotiations. Pavlenko (2004) found that second language learning contributes to new identities being constructed. (See Christison 2010, Chik 2010, Miller 2000, Ros i Solé 2004) Trueba and Zou (1994) found in their research on Miao college students that ethnic language and culture did affect the identities of the children. The students maintained a strong bond with their language which helped the maintenance of their ethnic identity. Lack of ethnic or “heritage” language does affect communication between family members and makes it more difficult for the “ethnic values” to be transmitted” (Maloof, Rubin & Miller 2006).

Given the relationship between language and identity, language policies can be used to impose new identities and release previous ones (Kloter 2006) and “Language can be use as a symbol of domination to extol the worth of one group and to diminish others” (Watson 1992:115). This was the case during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan. Then, during the KMT rule, schooling in Taiwan was conducted in Mandarin and all other dialects were forbidden. For those who spoke anything other than Mandarin, they would receive punishment, sometimes severe punishment. Obviously, those from mainland

China did not receive such punishments. This so-called “advantage”, allowed “wai-sheng” students to have a slight edge over the Taiwanese students – and in turn made them more willing to learn the language because Mandarin also marked them as “wai-sheng” and not Taiwanese (Hsiau 1997: 307). This difference also made Taiwanese speakers aware of the difference in language and thus language becomes not only a way to communicate, but an identity marker.

In addition, societal depictions, such as television programs in Taiwanese usually had actors who spoke Taiwanese (Tai-yu) in the programmes shown as persons of lower socio-economic status, workers, peasants, elderly or farmers. These depictions reinstated an image of Taiwanese as “a marker of backwardness, vulgarity, ignorance...” (Hsiau 1997:308). The Taiwanese local language was thus considered the “low” language (Heylan 2005:498) and Mandarin as the national ‘language’ became a symbol of modernity (Hsiau 1997: 308). (See 2.3.1.2)

Perceptions are important in determining the use of this language and the images that are connected to it. In their research, Davison & Lai (2007) studied the status of Putonghua-medium programs and the natures of the target groups in Hong Kong. They found that the Putonghua-medium programmes were being chosen by socio-economically advantaged Hong Kong parents whereas these programmes were being rejected by the “poorer working class communities who associate Putonghua with the low status and conditions of mainland immigrants” (120) and were more preoccupied with English since it held a “high status” (131) in post-colonial Hong Kong.

Nowadays, these programmes are more highly valued, as the images associated with mainland Chinese have changed. The situation in Hong Kong is thus made more complex by the role of English as a consequence of British colonialism. In Taiwan, English, though not an official language is currently taught in high schools as a means towards internationalization, but the situation is not as complex as that of Hong Kong. Still, Wei (2008) has found that in "... Taiwan a person's alternating among language such as Mandarin, Tai-yu, and, to a lesser extent, English can be seen as a way to profile ones group memberships, signalling much of the overall value system of the society – things such as status, solidarity, and professionalism"(19).

The role of English is also an issue in other situations. In his work on the Canadian Inuit, Dorais (1985) found some individuals identified themselves as Inuit, despite not speaking an Inuit language. If they could, it would make communication easier and as a means to preserve their aboriginal identity. However, they preferred to use English because of its ease communicating with the world outside of their intimate circle, to earn a living, and amongst the younger generation for conversation. Dorais (1985) saw the relationship of Inuktitut as the language of identity and English the language of practicality. Resonating the "practical" aspect of language choice is Li (2002) in his findings on Hong Kong parents' choice of English as the language for education. For Luo, however, as we shall see, English was not a major factor since her education had taken place long before English began to affect Taiwan.

The role of language in Taiwan has been researched by Scott and Tiun (2007).

They agree with the earlier comments that during the Japanese colonization of Taiwan, “schooling was a major avenue for the promotion of Japanese, the new national language” (Scott & Tiun 2007: 55). With non-Japanese speaking schools and publications banned after the Sino-Japanese war started in 1937, and the rewarding of speaking Japanese at work and home, the policies of making Japanese the national language seemed successful (Scott & Tiun 2007). The Japanese tried to implement the Japanese language as a glue that would hold the people together and hopefully change the nationalistic views of those living in Taiwan. However, Japanese did not become the home language for many Taiwanese (Scott & Tiun 2007).

Scott and Tiun took their analysis into the KMT period and argue that, as the Japanese before them, the KMT government also used an assimilationist’s language policy. They tried to eliminate the Japanese culture and language, progressively discouraged the use of local language and vigorously promoted Mandarin as the national language (the term for Mandarin used in Taiwan is *guo you* 國語, which means ‘national language’) (Scott & Tiun 2007:56). In addition, it was to be language used in public domains and in business (Hsiau 1997). The rigid policy made many who were previously educated in Japanese, illiterate. The KMT also considered any language other than Mandarin, such as Taiwanese (Tai-yu) and Hakka as a threat to “national cohesion and unity” and therefore, Mandarin was not just for “linguistic unity” but also for “ethnic harmony” (Hsiau 1997: 306). The use of language as a means for creating unity or for colonial intervention has been researched in many countries such as India, Indonesia and Africa (Watson 1992, Anderson 1991, Lawuyi 1990). In the case of Taiwan, after many years of

rule, many Taiwanese did in fact, accept the Chinese “ideology” that came with Mandarin implementation – and adopted parts of that culture that were new to them. The general finding that “Language theorists have pointed out that language legislation is commonly driven by political and economic goals such as national unification and modernization” (Davis 1990:125) was also the case in Taiwan.

However, as much as a national language may be a political move to create cohesion among people in a nation, the very opposite can also occur (Hsiau 1997, Balsera 2005, etc.). Watson (1992) states, “ at the internal political level, language can be used to create a sense of equality between different ethnic or linguistic groups in society, and it can be used to weld together different groups into a nation, but it can equally be used to promote one linguistic/ethnic group at the expense of others” (100). Therefore, language can be as “disruptive a force as any culture marker” (Coulmas 1988:11 in Hsiau 1997:313) because this very concept and implementation of a national language has raised conflicts among groups within a country, as histories of countries reflect (Hsiau 1997).

Thus, in addition to being a cultural marker language carries with it sentiments of hierarchy amongst groups as well. Domination of one language over others creates a sentiment of hierarchy which translates into a hierarchy of groups associated with those languages and rebellions for recognition of their languages may occur (Ager 1992). “Whenever a group has demanded that its language be given its rightful place in society – whether Assamese, Malay, Singhalese, Fijian, Bengali – what is really meant is that a particular

language group wants to have an exclusive official, and therefore political, status: the implication being that group whose language it is worthy of respect” (Watson 1992: 115).

Language is not only transmitted through formal education in classrooms, but is also through generations, in the home and community (He 2006). Since it holds a reference to the home, this “home” language or “mother tongue” can also be something that unites and influences an individual in holding onto his cultural identity and views on identity. Family attitudes towards language can also have an impact on the learning of an ethnic language (Tse 1996). For some in Tse’s studies, the family did not encourage the ethnic language because they wanted to foster the national language, in order for their children to be well mainstreamed. The result was sometimes a loss of the ethnic language. In families where the family members all speak the language of the elders, which tends to mean the ethnic language, rather than adjust to the language of the younger generation, the ethnic language is more likely to be maintained (Sandel, Chao & Liang 2006). Ager (1992) agrees that, “Language maintenance is the clearest label indicating the continued identity of a particular group...” (60). For some who wish to assert their cultural identity, the native language is at the centre of that identity (Mair 2003) just as Hsiao (1997) and Law (2002) assert that language is a means to hold onto a cultural identity.

3.6 Conclusion

The whole process and existence of identity evolves from social interactions

and the contrast between the self and others. If it were not for our differences, we would not be as concerned with identity. If it were not for changes in demographics of our surroundings, we would not need to be aware of one another.

Our identities, such as ethnic identities, are fluid and negotiable as we interact with “others” and inevitably changes will occur. The labels we address ourselves and others may carry different meanings over time, regardless of how it holds or separates us.

The distinction of self and others also creates group cohesion which on a broader level can be related to politics and government. Whether political policies are to provide a fair common ground for the nation’s people or as a form of control, governments do partake in identity constructions. Spain (Balsera 2005), France (Kramsch 1998b), Britain (Byram 1992), and Taiwan (Wei 2008, Brown 1996, Heylan 2005, etc.) are all examples of such.

Homes and educational institutions also have an important role in educating us on where we belong in the bigger societal picture. Families, through social interactions, practising of traditions and story-telling transmit much of culture as well. In making decisions regarding language of education, parents are consciously or unconsciously affecting the identity of their offspring. Schools, through teachers, administrators and peers contribute too. The “group” component is important in the formation of the individual identity and this begins at home and continues through schooling. It’s debatable, but it appears that the family could have a stronger influence over identity

construction since primary socialisation is said to possibly be stronger than what happens in secondary socialisation.

Our identities are based on our language and culture which is gathered from experiences and the boundary between the self and others is context dependent (Abrams & Hogg 2004). Individual identities are based on experiences that result from social interactions and the desires to belong to certain groups or not and are thus context dependent. In addition, individuals operate on many levels of identity simultaneously – both personal identity (individualized) and social ones (pertaining to a group). It is often difficult, if not impossible, to separate all the identities that make up one person.

Language and culture cannot be eliminated from the identity construction process because they are so intricately linked. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis suggests that the language and culture that we are born into shapes our thinking, but it would seem that this is only true because of our social experiences. With people of different cultures and languages coming into more direct contact with globalization, that theory becomes more debatable. I would agree with Christison (2010) when she argues that a lack of language can make it difficult to express a thought, but it does not mean we cannot see or understand the cultural meanings associated because of it. There will always be words that are not directly translatable between languages, but the understanding behind the expressions can be understood by those holding identities of other cultures and/or languages.

Identity is complex. Due to its characteristics of being fluid, multiple and

context dependent, identity is a choice whether self- made or imposed by others. Researchers such as (Yu 2010), Zhu (2007), and Lawuyi (1990) and authors such as Cherry (2010), Chik (2010), and Liu (2010) shared moments in which identity is negotiated, and for the most part would agree experience creates the realization of their identity and its relation to other makes the researched or themselves realize their identity. In addition, they learn which identity they wish to portray at certain moments and occasions. These moments are critical incidents and allow individuals to be more aware of the relationship between identity, culture, and language (Nunan & Choi 2010).

Encounters in life and ideologies that a person holds ultimately contribute to the identity construction of that individual. In chapter 5, I will analyze moments in Luo's life, as she has shared them with me in interviews, and relate them with the construction of her identities. I will attempt to explore the ideologies she associates with those identities, education, and language.

Chapter 4 -Research Methodology

4.1 Choosing a Research Paradigm to Address the Research Questions

My research questions deal with the “how” and “why” of Luo’s life. The focus of the study is looking at how she identifies herself and why she identifies herself in such a way, while taking into account the roles of language and education. In reading literature on methodology, I have come to the conclusion that my research would be best carried out using methods in qualitative, or better referred to as interpretive research. This chapter will discuss how a case study on my informant, using methods of narrative inquiry in attempts to create a more complete a life story, suited the research requirements, and how I came to this conclusion.

4.2 Quantitative (Explanatory) and Qualitative (Interpretive) Research

Research in social science has been categorized generally as quantitative or qualitative. Debates about the value of quantitative and qualitative research are ongoing and no definite answer will probably be reached in the near future. Though quantitative and qualitative are commonly used as words to describe research types, they more accurately describe the types of data collected (Byram 2008). To be precise, we should refer to the research as Explanatory and Interpretive Research.

Many researchers believe that explanatory research based on quantitative data is more convincing because it works with empirical data often

considered “objective”. In fact this type of research has been referred to as positivist research as well (Myers 2000, Packer 1999). The underlying assumption is that objects can be “independently measured of one another, that these objects are lawfully interrelated, and that the relationships are mediated by a real force in objects that is called causation” (Cook 1983 as quoted in Myers 2000). The quantitative data is typically collected either through questionnaires, experiments and/or observation. A mathematical model is then usually applied to find a response to the central question to the research. The use of statistics is a basis for the belief that this type of research is objective and valid. In addition, the validity and generalisability of the research can be easily ascertained because the process can be reproduced and findings repeated. Defenders of explanatory research maintain that it is a seemingly value-free approach since the research is only explaining results and not using interpretations. Still there are researchers who doubt the actual objectivity of statistical procedures and whether or not pure objectivity exists (Lincoln & Guba 1985, Eisner 1991).

Despite explanatory research being widely valued as objective, interpretive research can be of equal worth even though it is considered to be infiltrated with values, thus rendering it more subjective. One way of defining interpretive research is to say that it is “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss & Corbin 1990:17) and it usually occurs in natural settings as opposed to experimental or semi-experimental conditions.

Interpretive researchers believe in the research finding the connections of people to the real world in their social and historical contexts (Myers 2000,

Packer 1999). This type of research relies predominantly on qualitative data but can also include quantitative data (Byram 2008, Strauss & Corbin 1990, Patton 1990, Packer 1999, Walsham 1994). These data are personalized information, and conclusions are based on their interpretations. The researcher's interpretation takes on a critical role and conclusions are backed by evidence, such as transcripts of interviews closely analysed, and arguments instead of statistical analysis. Unlike research based on quantitative data, it is virtually impossible to replicate the process or arrive at the exact same results (Atkinson 1998). Multiple "realities" can exist (Myers 2000, Packer 1999, Plummer 2001, Bruner 1987). However, by taking proper measures researchers can increase the replicability and therefore the "objectivity" in their reports.

Explanatory and interpretive research allow for different types of information to be uncovered. Patton (1990) supports a "paradigm of choices" emphasizing that "methodological appropriateness is the primary criterion for judging methodological quality" (39). It is important to use the most suitable approach as it will allow for the best results in conducting the research and data analysis. The data collected will be the information the researcher needs.

4.2.1 Why Interpretive Research?

In the case of my research, explanatory research was not a viable option. The goal of my research was not "objectivity" nor to establish "cause and effect" seen from some external viewpoint but the connections and explanations

from within the situation which surfaced from my informant's narratives. I was looking at the events of Luo's life and how they affected her thinking and construction of identity. In qualitative research it is possible to delve deeply into a subject's most inner thoughts and this can reveal more about a given situation (Spradley 1979). Just as Cronbach (1975) points out, statistical research cannot depict the effects of interactions that occur in social settings. He goes on to say that qualitative techniques allow us to see more of the social world including things that may not be "statistically significant" (Cronbach 1975: 124). By using interpretive data collection instruments and methods, I was able to gather information from the stories that my informant shared, analyze the stories to determine the basis of her decision-making process and visualize how she perceives herself. Interpretive research provides insight into "the complex world of lived experienced from the point of view of those who live it" (Schwandt 1994: 118) and that was what I was looking for.

4.3 Interpretive Research Types

Interpretive research projects tend to be case studies because of the nature of the research. They can be found in many academic fields including, but not limited to, psychology, education, business administration, social work, health sciences, anthropology, history, and economics (Gerring 2007, Yin, 2003, 2004, 2009, Silverman & Marvasti 2008). Widely found in social science research (Berg 2007, Marshall & Rossman 2011, Yin 2009, Gerring 2007), the approaches taken in conducting a case study can still vary.

4.3.1 Case Study

Variations in case studies begin with its meaning. Berg (2007) states that the “case study method is defined and understood in various ways” (283). The term “case study” carries a range of meanings for different researchers, some overlapping, others not. The table below shows a sampling of meanings and some of the researchers who embrace the particular definitions.

Figure 2 Table of Case study Meanings and Researchers

Case Study Meaning	Researchers
A method that is qualitative with a small(er) case	Eckstein(1975), George and Bennett (2005), Lijphart (1975), Van Evera (1997:50)
“Holistic” or “thick” research which provides a comprehensive look at phenomenon	Eisenhardt (1989), Ragin (1987, 1997), Verschuren (2001), Yin (2003, 2004, 2009), Geertz (1973), Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg (1991) as referenced in Tellis (1997b)
Research that uses a particular style (e.g. ethnographic, clinical, nonexperimental, non-survey-based, participant-observation, process-tracing, historical, textual, or field research)	George and Bennett (2005), Hamel (1993), Hammersley (1990,1998), Hagan (2006)

A study in which it is difficult to differentiate between the phenomenon and the context	Yin (1994, 2003, 2004, 2009)
A method that involves the systematic gathering of information about a “case” which lets researchers understand phenomena	Berg (2007), Yin (2009), Zonabend (1992), Gerring (2007), Glaser & Strauss (1967)
Research that investigates property or properties of a one observation	Campbell and Stanley (1963), Eckstein (1975)
A research strategy that is triangulated	Yin (2003, 2009), Tellis (1997a)
Research that investigates the characteristics of a phenomenon, instance, or example	George and Bennett (2005), Bogdan and Biklen (2003)
Research that can include both qualitative and quantitative data	Creswell (2003), Berg (2007), Yin (2003, 2004, 2009)
Research conducted on a specific individual or specific content	Trochim (2006)

(Adapted from Gerring 2007: 17)

It is possible to see from the compilation that the meanings tend to blur into one another with some researchers emphasizing the method or context of the research, others the comprehensiveness, and some the number of “cases.” As a term, “case study” is difficult to define because it carries assumptions (or meanings) with it.

The assumptions are not just in the definition, but can also be in the perspectives held regarding case study research. Robert Yin and Robert Stake, both case study researchers, hold slightly disparate views. The following are a few examples to illustrate their differences. Yin (2003, 2004, 2009) believes single realities exist, whereas Stake (1994, 1995) sees reality as being socially constructed. For Yin (2003, 2009), research findings, can be used to form predictions about other situations and the findings from one case can be used in another context and time. Stake (1994, 1995) sees it differently; he believes that the information produced is context dependent and situated in a specific time frame.

Even with the differences and assumptions involving the phrase, most simply defined, case study research is the “detailed examination of a single case” (Flyvberg 2006: 220) and the “case” can refer to an individual person, an event, a specific group, or an institution (Stake 1994) as well as social life in a community or an abstract process (Yin 2009). The following description will serve as the basis for the research in this thesis: “The basic idea is that one case (or perhaps a small number of cases) will be studied in detail, using whatever methods seem appropriate. While there may be a variety of specific purposes and research questions, the general objective is to develop as full an understanding of that case as possible” (Punch 1998: 150 as quoted in Silverman & Marvasti 2008: 162). Ultimately, case study research is a study of a case, characteristically intensively, in order to shed light on the case and the final goal is for the information derived from the study “to contribute to our knowledge of an individual group, organizational, social, political and related phenomena” (Yin 2009: 4).

4.3.2 Historical Research

Historical research is another approach to case study research. This type of research “is an examination of the elements of history” – with history being defined as “... an account of some past event or series of events” (Berg 2007: 264). Historical research in the views of some but not all historians uses records and accounts from the past and seeks theoretical explanations for historical occurrences (Berg 2007). The purpose is to examine the past, focusing on either relationships, created meanings, events or ideas that may have led to current situations. The research tends to be descriptive and factual when examining events, or a combination of events to understand and interpret the past. It relies on historical “facts” and not “opinions” assembled and documented (Lagemann 1996). ‘Facts’ means that the information has been documented and verified by more than one party. Still, the perspectives and interpretation of the data and of the historian need to be acknowledged (Leming 2011). It is critical to take into consideration the purpose of the data when it was originally collected and the views of those who presented the data when analyzing the information (Szerter 1969, Briggs 1972, Berg 2007, McCulloch & Richardson 2000, Leming 2011). A historical researcher needs to be cautious not to be too selective in the evidence s/he uses and should attempt to be more inclusive in the data collection (Greenwood 1970) in order to remain as “objective” as possible because “perspective[s] are influenced by the social contexts in which they are produced” (Marshall & Rossman 2011: 185). Sometimes data are presented to convince people of one view only. It is also important to not impose interpretations based on

current meanings onto data from the past (Marshall & Rossman 2011) as definitions and connotations change over time and varies in different cultures (Berg 2007).

My research is based on historical movements throughout a woman's life, and therefore it seemed necessary to include historical research of my own. One reason is to triangulate her stories and another reason is to provide additional information in order to paint a more holistic picture of the situation. Interviews and articles on both her and her father were referred to triangulate what Luo expressed in her interviews. In addition, history books were referenced.

Difficulty with historical research lies in locating data and staying unbiased in interpretation of the sources. For example, many texts are presented in a foreign language without translations, thus limiting access to documents. Historical research, however, is advantageous in that it is an unobtrusive research approach since the process does not affect the results of the study and minimizes researcher-subject interdependency (Leming 2011).

4.3.3 Ethnographic Research

Another approach to case study research is ethnographic research. The meaning of ethnographic research “overlaps with that of several others – such as ‘qualitative method’, ‘interpretive research’, ‘case study’, ‘participant observation’, ‘life history method’, and so on” (Hammersley 1998: 1). It is a research approach in which an unanimous definition does not

exist. The research tends to focus on the “culture” of the case (Spradley 1979; Patton 1990; Goetz and LeCompte 1984, Massey 1998) and attempts to:

...describe systematically the characteristics of variables and phenomena, to generate and refine conceptual categories, to discover and validate associations among phenomena, or to compare constructs and postulates generated phenomena in one setting with comparable phenomena in another setting. Hypotheses, or causal propositions fitting the data and constructs generated, then may be developed and confirmed. (LeCompte & Goetz 1982: 33).

Ethnographic research uses a range of data collection methods and attempts to present a holistic representation of the culture and/or phenomena studied and researchers generally conduct the research without prior assumptions of concepts and relationships (LeCompte & Goetz 1982).

An ethnography, which is the end product of an ethnographic research, “ is a written description of a particular culture – the customs, beliefs, and behaviour – based on information collected through fieldwork” (Harris and Johnson 2000 as quoted from Genzuek 2003:1) The research relies “heavily on up-close, personal experience and possible participation, not just observation, by researchers” (Genzuek 2003:1) with a single case as well as direct contact with the culture of those being researched (Zonabend 1992). The ethnographic approach is very similar to how we make sense of our surroundings in our daily lives (Hammersley 1998) and this is a strength because it thus carries out more systematically what ordinary people do in a less systematic way over time.

Another advantage of ethnographic research is in its flexible structure

(Massey 1998). There is no pre-determined method in which to conduct the research and therefore it can be easily altered and adapted as the researcher sees fit. It is important for the researcher to detail the process in the ethnography. In the end, "... by admitting into the research frame the subjective experiences of both participants and investigator, ethnography may provide a depth of understanding lacking in other approaches to investigation" (LeCompte and Goetz 1982:32). Though ethnographic research usually does not attempt larger generalization or attempt to claim representativeness of the data to a broader population (Zonabend 1992) as other approaches might, nonetheless the results can be used to make changes (Cazden 1983) to the community or depict similarities and differences between cultures when compared and contrasted (Zonabend 1992).

There are researchers, such as Yin (1992, 2009) and Berg (2007), who will argue that, Historical Research, and Ethnographic Research are not case studies; yet when using the most basic definition of case study, these approaches can be case studies and its approaches used to contribute to a case study. Case study research regardless of approach, assumptions, and definition, can still contribute valuable information. The design and articulation of the research and process are important to ensure that the data are reliable or trustworthy. "The case study is useful for both generating and testing of hypotheses but is not limited to these research activities alone" (Flyberg 2006: 229). The results can be used to generalize or just to describe a particular phenomenon or culture as well, whether inward looking or outward looking from the case. Case studies allow for the voice of the participants to be shared.

By design, this research is a case study and draws upon the approaches and beliefs of historical, and ethnography to complete the study. Historical research is to provide background and a framework from which to preface the study and see if it those past events would lend themselves into the future (because this research is about making decisions for the future) and it is Ethnography, because it is a study of a culture/group and its surroundings. The underlying assumption is that there are multiple realities but as a researcher I'm looking for one in specific as it is one, that of Luo's, and that is the focus of this research.

4.4 Data Collection Methods in Interpretive Research

Document analysis, observations, and interviews are regularly used methods of data collection in interpretive research. Documents, including but not limited to archival works, letters, journals, observation, both direct /non-participant and participant observation, and interviews, ranging from formal to informal, can provide valuable information for the researcher and the methods can be used collectively to complement each other. Researchers, such as Hammersley & Atkinson (2007), recommend using a combination of interviews and observations, as was done in this research.

4.4.1 Documents

Documents appear in forms such as letters, diaries, study reports, photographs, maps, charts, and other recorded items and are sources of

evidence for researchers. They are considered “stable” in that repeated review is possible (Tellis 1997b; Yin 2009) and are also considered unobtrusive because though collected during the research, the items already existed prior to the study (Yin 2009). In addition, documents are specific and can be found for any time period (Yin 2009). Many researchers will rely on memoirs, newspapers, and related documents as sources, however Thompson (2000) cautions about the items’ neutrality. The obtaining of documents can also be a difficult task depending on accessibility and availability of the materials as was the case in this research. Yin (2009:10) asserts that the “most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from sources.” Archival documents such as newspaper clippings and photographs were used to provide a framework and as support for the stories told by the informant. However, mostly books on Taiwan history were used to provide a context and used to corroborate the participants’ stories of the time periods.

4.4.2 Direct and Participant Observation

Observation is a “fundamental and highly important method” for interpretive research conducted in social settings (Marshall & Rossman 2011:140). It provides “information that can be seen directly by the researcher or heard or felt” (Stake 2010:90). The descriptions can be of both verbal and nonverbal behaviour and interactions and can help depict a more “holistic” picture.

When referring to observation as a data collection method, we can differentiate between two extreme types of observation. The first is direct or

external observation in which the researcher observes from a distance or from the side-lines. The second is participant observation in which the researcher, as the term suggests, participates in different degrees in the interactions of those being studied.

Direct observation, in which the researcher does not actively participate in ongoing activities, has its advantages and disadvantages. One advantage is by only being an observer, the researcher can gain a “detached” perspective and because of the lack of participation, it is considered a less obtrusive method (Trochim 2006). The researcher is merely watching. Some researchers may choose to videotape or use double-sided mirrors to help with the process. It is believed that the subjects’ actions or responses will not be affected by the researcher’s presence because there is no interaction (Trochim 2006). Nonetheless, it can also be assumed that the physical presence of the researcher and/or other equipment will already have altered the context and people’s actions in it. Ultimately, the goal of the researcher when using direct observation as a data collection method is to have her presence be as unobtrusive as possible so as not to bias what is being observed (Trochim 2006). Another advantage of direct observation is that it can be more focused than participant observation because the researcher is solely observing without the pressures of immersion into the social situation. The disadvantages are that bias can occur because of the informants’ actions or changes are caused by the researcher’s presence (Tellis 1997b, Leming 2011, Yin 2009). In addition, while observing, the researcher may miss some facts or unconsciously only notice some (Tellis 1997b, Yin 2009).

Participant observation is also a common method of data collection in interpretive research (Trochim 2006). The researcher becomes part of the culture or group being studied and gains firsthand knowledge (Marvasti & Reissman 2008). A researcher can immerse himself in the culture of the participants in a variety of ways, such as learning the language or actually living in the community for a given period of time (Yin 2003, Berg 2007). The process could be time consuming and take up years of work before the researcher becomes a natural member of the group and is able to observe what are considered natural occurrences. On the other hand, the researcher will have direct access to information and not only see and hear, but experience and “feel” the realities as a participant (Genzuk 2003). It can be a very insightful method into personal behaviours and thinking (Yin 2009).

There are researchers such as Spindler & Spindler(1992) and Denscombe (1995) who believe that participant observation is crucial to research. The underlying belief is that with time and the building of a relationship with the participants, the researcher becomes a “familiar presence” and therefore participants are “less likely to behave uncharacteristically” (Massey 1998: 2). In addition, the participants will be more open in sharing details about themselves and their lives (Massey 1998). However, there are those, such as Tellis (1997b) and Geertz (1998), who caution that bias can exist not only because of the researcher’s actions but simply from her physical presence. The difficulty of participant observation lies not only in being accepted by the group studied, but also navigating between understanding the “experience as an insider while describing the experience for outsiders” (Genzuk 2003: 2).

The degree of researcher participation can vary (Genzuk, 2003, Marshall & Rossman 2011). Raymond Gold (cited by Babbie 1983:247-248 as referenced in Leming 2011) has categorized the extent of participation into four categories which can be thought of as points along the continuum. The first is complete participant observation in which the researcher is viewed as a participant by the participants, sometimes without their knowing he is a researcher, but this raises ethical issues. The second is participant-as-observer observation where the scenario is one where the researcher is a participant, but the participants are aware of his role as a researcher. Third is the observer-as-participant scenario in which the researcher is an observer known to those observed but does not participate in the social settings. Lastly, is the complete observer in which the subjects are not aware of the researcher's role, but ethical issues could be raised here (Leming 2011). When designing and conducting the research, the researcher needs to evaluate the amount of participation required for access to information and for him to gain sufficient understanding. At the same time, the researcher needs to be aware of the amount of involvement as this could also affect the validity of the data collected (Genzuk 2003).

In general, observation is primarily used for describing settings, activities, people, and to provide meaning for what is being observed. The ultimate goal of observations is to "observe 'normal' behaviours in 'everyday life' by persons performing the social roles which are part of their social environment" (Leming 2011: 6). There are strengths and weaknesses to both types of observation as data collection methods. Whether it's direct or

participant observation, observation can lead to a deeper understanding than interviews alone because it offers context knowledge of occurring events and may let the researcher access information that the informants did not or would not share (Patton 1990). The data collected during observations are current and cover events in the appropriate context (Tellis 1997b, Yin 2009).

In this research, observations of the informant were carried out during her everyday life as she interacted with friends and family, in both formal and informal settings. Even though my role is that of a researcher, I am also naturally a part of the social and cultural settings of the Luo's world because of my relationship with her, mentioned earlier, she is my grandmother. Therefore, being "obtrusive" was not a main concern. Being open to ideas and trying to perceive what was happening around me from an outsider's perspective was important with a view to making it understood eventually by outsiders. During observations, at times I would be an active participant, because of the nature of the event, other times, purely an observer, but with my presence known. I believe that the participants did not view me as a researcher at these meetings, even though they knew I was conducting research. This obviously raises ethical issues which are discussed in a later section.

4.4.3 Interviews

Interviewing is another common method for data collection and interviewing methods are widely found in literature. Interviews are an opportunity for researchers to talk directly and acquire firsthand information from the

participant. This method can allow the researcher to fully explain her questions and gather in-depth information. When wanting to learn about individuals' experiences, in-depth interviews are advantageous (Marshall & Rossman 2011) and "an especially effective method of (data) collection" (Berg 2007: 98). Kvale (1996: 2) refers to interviews as a "construction site for knowledge" because of the possibilities of what can be discovered.

Janesick (2010) defines interviewing as an exchange of information between two persons and a joint construction of meaning. Such an interview would be for specific research in which a pulling together of meanings is required. Marshall & Rossman (2011: 144) refer to this type of interview as "dialogic" in which new meanings are created together by both the researcher and the informant. In even the simplest of conversational exchanges, interpretation and co-construction of meaning is occurring. Thus, two researchers conducting the same research will not achieve the exact same results because of interpretation and relationships. Meaning is constantly being constructed between the interviewer and those being interviewed, because that is how we achieve understanding. In research it is important that the understanding is the ideas of the interviewed as opposed to the interviewer. This leads to the reliability issue commonly seen in interpretive research which will be further discussed in a later section along with alternative criteria, such as trustworthiness, that can be used for evaluating interpretive research.

For the most part, it's probably more accurate to say interviewing is a process used to solicit as opposed to exchanging information. Czarniawska (2004: 47) sees interviewing to be more of an "inquisition" or "interrogation" in which

the interviewees can be considered “informants”. When interviewing, researchers want to “know the facts, or attitudes, or many other things outside the interview, the ‘reality behind it’, as it were” (Czarniawska 2004: 47). During interviews, we are seeking the participant’s concepts and not our own and we should attempt to interview based on their concepts (Spradley 1979).

Stake (2010: 95) gives three purposes for interviewing. The first is as a means to obtain “unique information or interpretation held by the person interviewed”. The next purpose is to collect “a numerical aggregation of information from many persons” and lastly in order to find “out about ‘a thing’ that the researchers were unable to observe themselves” (Stake 2010: 95). For this research, the interviewing process was to achieve the first and third purposes mentioned by Stake.

The structure of the interview can be modified to fit the needs of the research thus allowing for variations in framework of questions asked and responses gathered. Patton (1990, 2002) and Merriam (2001) refer to the three types of interviews (they use a different terminology, but the categorization is the same).

The first is informal or unstructured interviewing, which tends to be more conversational. There is no pre-determined sequence of questions or specific wording to the questions. The interviewer can ask questions and make clarifications as well as add and delete questions while interviewing (Berg 2007). Though informal, the researcher may still prepare an outline or list of

questions or topics so that she remains focused as recommended by Spradley (1979) and Patton (2002). However, Atkinson (1998) would argue otherwise, claiming preset questions could hurt an interview.

At times, the interview could be conversational. Kvale (1996) reasons that conversations are how people communicate and how knowledge is produced in our societies, therefore conversational interviews can be used. Though it can be conversational, an interview is not a conversation (Atkinson 1998: 27). Unstructured interviews can also be spontaneous by nature and give the researcher and interviewee control in the direction of the conversation (Trochim 2006).

The second type of interviews is semi-structured (Patton 1990, 2002) or semi-standardized (Berg 2007) interviews in which some structures are involved. The researcher would have a set of prepared question or a topic. The wording of the questions could differ for each interview and even change in order of questioning if interviewing more than one person, but the questions are mostly the same (Berg 2007). The flexibility in this interview allows for the interviewee to have some part in directing the research and helps shape the further questioning and possible areas to be explored. Ideas and/or concepts may emerge from their interviews and the semi-structured format of the interview allows the researcher the freedom to further investigate these revelations. In essence these interviews “are tailored to the individual person and often should be conversational, with the interviewer asking probing questions to clarify and refine the information and interpretation” (Stake 2010: 95). This flexibility is permitted by the

semi-structured interview format.

The third type of interview method is the standardized or formal interview (Patton 1990, 2002, Berg 2007). In this interview, there is no “deviation from question order” and the language used is scripted and no additional questions or clarification can be asked (Berg 2007: 93). The interview occurs in a systematic manner and the “interviews are designed to elicit information using a set of predetermined question that are expected to elicit the subjects’ thoughts, opinions, and attitudes about the study-related issues” (Berg 2007: 93). Additional questions and changes are not acceptable.

Within these three interview styles, there are different types of questions as well. Spradley (1979) categorizes questions into three main groups – Descriptive, Structural, and Contrast questions. Descriptive questions are ones which encourage the respondent to describe events or feelings. An example of a descriptive questions would be – How would you describe your childhood? Structural questions seek specific information. An example of a structural question could be – What were some of the things you did as a child? Contrast questions are about comparisons. An example is - How was your schooling in Japan different from your schooling in Taiwan? (See Spradley 1979, Kvale 1996, Atkinson 1998, Czarniawska 2004, Janesick 2010 etc. for more on interviews and questions.) All of these types of questions were used in this research.

Interviews are an effective method of data collection especially when trying to understand interviewee or participant perceptions, learning how

participants associate things, and make meaning of events (Berg 2007). Sometimes it is just about meaning. Other times, even how the story unfolds is important (Atkinson 1998, Gubrium & Holstein 2003). A mixture of questions and in most cases, a combination of questions should be used. Questions need to be clear in order for the respondent to become engaged and willing to convey her attitudes and opinions (Denzin 1995). It is essential to know what is being asked and answered (Spradley 1979).

Regardless of which type of interview is used, the preparation of an interview guide or a list of questions to explore helps the interviewer make better use of their time, makes the interviewing of multiple subjects more comprehensive and methodical, the research focused, and easily modified to include relevant information and exclude non-relevant information.

Interviews can be more effective if the researcher has a solid idea of what information they need (Merriam 2001) but caution is necessary to prevent the imposing of what one believes the answers should be and thus prejudicing the interviewee or the data.

Interviews for this research were a combination of unstructured and semi-structured interviews. The questions were open-ended in order to solicit narratives from the respondent. At times, explicit questions asked for stories and clarifications of words and thoughts. This seemed to work well throughout the research. A list of possible questions was compiled prior to the first interview to assist in maintaining focus. As for rapport with the subject, it had already been established prior to meetings, therefore the interviews focused on obtaining her stories.

4.4.4 Field Notes

In order to record observations and thoughts, field notes were kept throughout the research. Marshall and Rossman (2011: 139) suggest a “systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours, and artefacts (objects) in the social setting”. Variations in when field notes are taken exist (Berg 2007). A field work journal also helped record “experiences, ideas, fears, mistakes, confusions, breakthroughs, and problems that arise” as suggested by Spradley (1979: 76). These reflexive journals have “proven to be an effective tool for understanding the processes of qualitative research more fully, as well as the experiences, mind-sets, biases, and emotional states of the researcher” (Janesick 2010: 109).

Notes were jotted during the observations as well as immediately afterwards for this research. The field notes included summaries of what occurred, questions that arose, changes in the informant’s responses and actions depending on the situation similar to Glaser’s (1978) concept of memoing (note-taking after the interaction). These notes tried to be detailed and nonjudgmental of what was observed and often led to further questions for clarification or information in interviews. By keeping a record of thoughts, a researcher is made more aware of “personal biases and feelings, to understand their influence on the research” (Spradley 1979: 76). In addition, journals help document the process of research (Janesick 2010).

Spradley (1979) also considers transcriptions an expanded account of field notes. In order to obtain transcripts, the interviews must be recorded (See

Appendix C for sample of transcript and translation of excerpt). In this research, interviews were recorded as suggested by Spradley (1979), Patton (1990) and Genzuk (2003) and others. Lincoln & Guba (1985) would argue against doing so, but in order to assist with analysis, recordings were needed to allow for transcriptions and also to reduce the reliance on memory and note-taking during interviews. In this research, the transcriptions tried to stay as true to the recordings as possible, including pauses or any other sounds and interruptions. (In the data collection and analysis section below – more will be written on regarding transcription – dealing with language and translation.)

As mentioned previously, data collection can be completed using a combination of appropriate measures. In the case of this particular research, data was compiled predominately from interviews, but with data from documents and observations included to triangulate the sources and types of data and provide extra particulars. In compiling data, we will naturally be imposing some viewpoints on what we deem as reality (Berg 2007). These ideas should be acknowledged. In addition, when conducting research, there needs to be a goal – it is not enough to just be acquiring knowledge (Spradley 1979). Therefore all data collection methods need to be focused.

4.5 Role of the Researcher and Ethical Issues

4.5.1 Role of the Researcher

The role of the researcher is central to any research. As Spindler & Spindler

(1992) suggest it is only a human that can notice details and therefore conduct research. Berg (2007) stresses the importance of a researcher's frame of mind when entering and conducting a study because it may alter the results. He agrees with Matza (1969, as reference in Berg 2007: 179) that researchers begin research with an "appreciative attitude" rather than one in attempts to correct anything.

The researcher is responsible for gaining access, ethics, gathering and analyzing the data (Marshall & Rossman 2011). Throughout the process, the researcher needs to be reflexive as well, so as not to take everything as is – whether it be the meaning of words or of information provided. Attempts should be made to verify and corroborate information (Berg 2007).

In addition, a researcher needs to recognize the subjectivity s/he brings to the research and attempt to balance any preconceived ideas, understandings, and beliefs with what is acquired and experienced from the research. According to Massey (1998), the world is experienced subjectively and consequently it is unavoidable, even in research. This type of inquiry is naturalistic in nature, and it is only an issue of to what degree, a researcher controls responses and how data is categorized and analyzed. The researcher needs to approach data with a neutral attitude and maintain it throughout the research. In the presentation of the research, the researcher can show what is learned and how it was learned to make the process transparent – one of the alternative criteria to reliability and validity as we shall see later.

Though researchers may stress "unobtrusive" measures, one can agree with

Spradley (1979: 36) when he says that research “always pries into the lives of informants”. Whether directly or indirectly, we are going looking into the privacy of others’ lives when conducting research. A researcher’s ability to develop and maintain “a positive personal involvement with participants” (Denscombe 1995: 178) can affect the outcomes of the research. It is implied that that a closer relationship results in success.

One can argue that this is not always true. In the case of this particular research, the close relationship between the researcher and the respondents allowed greater access to stories and information. However, at times, the “closeness” between the parties created problems.

Early in the research, when I thought I would interview both my mother and grandmother, interviews with my mother demonstrated how intimacy can be problematic. In the midst of describing her experiences, she began lecturing about things not pertaining to the research. It was nearly impossible to go beyond the lectures, to get the stories. Eventually, the decision was made to stop interviews with her and focus on Luo’s experiences and her peers. The elimination of my mother’s interviews actually allowed for a more detailed focus on my grandmother’s experiences, and a more holistic presentation of the context for her and her transitions. The inclusion of a different generation would have, in a sense, led to a new set of findings and required a different approach, one which analysed historical change. This was not the focus on the thesis.

Another issue that arises when there is already a relationship established is

prior knowledge. Prior knowledge is critical as it allows for understanding. However, as open to ideas as I could be as a researcher, I did have some pre-conceived thoughts because of comments I had heard growing up with the participants. Inconsistencies between my ideas and newly collected information existed and this is normal because people change and so do their beliefs. Sometimes how things are remembered can change as well, and they can hold inconsistent beliefs. Nonetheless, “deep familiarity” between researcher and subjects has become more common and accepted (Berg 2007: 181).

4.5.2 Ethical Issues

A researcher is also accountable for protecting the rights of those participating in the research. Though this research was conducted with family members and family friends, formal consent forms (See Appendix A) were signed and participants fully informed of research purpose after the research had been approved by the ethics committee of the School of Education in Durham. During the research if the participants seemed unwell or over-emotional, interviews were stopped and reconvened at better times. As mentioned previously, some participants during observations most likely did not see me as a researcher. Therefore, for ethical reasons, immediately after the observations, participants were reminded and permission granted to use information collected.

Since data contains personal events and feelings, participants were asked to review the information and were allowed to make any changes to ensure that

the data is correct. No data has been included in the research without the permission of the subjects knowing that it would be included in a thesis. Though the main interview was with Luo, other interviews were used to contrast or highlight some of her experiences and opinions. Some of the stories collected were cross referenced with those of the other participants. Observational data also added reinforcement to data from interviews.

4.6 My Research Design

The data collected from interviews are eventually presented as narratives and life histories. The two terms have been used interchangeably.

4.6.1 Narrative

... narratives of the world are numberless. Narrative is first and foremost a prodigious variety of genres, themselves distributed amongst different substances... Able to be carried by articulate language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures, and the ordered mixtures of these substances, narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, ... history, ... cinema, comics, news items, conversation.

Roland Barthes as quoted in Plummer (2001: 9)

Narratives appear through various mediums and are abundant. The simplest definition of narrative would be “something that is narrated: story” as defined in Merriam-Webster Dictionary. However in research, this definition is too broad. The definition allows for anything spoken or written to be considered a “narrative.”

Researchers have used slightly different definitions of narrative in their

works. For Polkinghorne (1995), there are two meanings for narrative. One definition of narrative is “prosaic discourse” which refers to any text or type of data that is comprised of complete sentences. This would be similar to the definition found in the dictionary, but obviously too vague. Polkinghorne’s other definition is more limiting as it suggests that narratives are a “particular type of discourse, the story, not simply any prosaic discourse” (Polkinghorne 1995: 6). Narratives are a composition of stories that are coherent within a context and connected. Denzin (1989) suggests that narratives are a story of a sequence of events that have significance for the teller and the audience. Griffin defines narrative as the “portrayal of social phenomena as temporally ordered, sequential, unfolding, and open-ended ‘stories’ fraught with conjuncture and contingency” (Griffin 1992: 405). Griffin stresses sequence and time, as Denzin, but Denzin also highlights the importance of the participants and the logicity of the narrative. Clandinin & Connelly (1991) perceive narrative as learning about experience and being associated with time periods, but they go further to include the research process of gathering, interpreting the data.

4.6.2 Life History

Atkinson’s theory builds on Clandinin & Connelly’s idea when he describes the life story as “a narrative form that has evolved from the oral history, life history and other ethnographic and field approaches. It is a qualitative method for gathering information... begins as a recorded interview, is transcribed, and ends up as a flowing narrative...” (Atkinson 1998: 3). He also views narrative to be a research process. Faraday & Plummer (1979) and

Atkinson (1998) also emphasize that life histories look at a totality. “A life story is a fairly complete narrating of one’s entire experience of life as a whole, highlighting the most important aspects” (Atkinson 1998: 8). Most definitions of narrative do not stress totality. However there are researchers, such as Thompson (1993) where definitions of narratives and life histories are not separated.

Working Definition

A unanimously accepted definition of narrative and life history does not exist. Narratives can be valued as “problem centred inquiry” and “from that perspective, it will always include a multiplicity and diversity of approaches” (Mishler 1995: 88). In other words, there is no exact definition of, or method to conduct, a narrative, or life story. For the purpose of this thesis the definition of narrative can be seen as first-person accounts, or stories, of experiences that recount events in a temporal, causal sequence. Life history tends to extend the definition of narrative slightly further by including a sense of totality, but it is most concerned with the lived experience, which is similar to narrative. Therefore, the terms will carry the same definition for this thesis.

4.7 Advantages and Constraints of Narrative

People telling their own stories reveal more about their own inner lives than any other approach could. Historical reconstruction may not be the primary concern in life history; what is, is how people see themselves at this point in their lives and want others to see ... (Atkinson 1998:24)

Narratives can be a powerful instrument for individuals to discover, explore and evaluate, while making sense of their past, how they are/were connected to individual experience and its social context, how the past relates to or becomes the present, or the future, and how they use this information to interpret the world around them. This ability is essential in researching language, identity, and education as it permeates through time. The goal is to uncover the thinking that affects our choices and constructions.

Narrative is one of the most natural means for humans to understand the world and themselves (Plummer 2001, Taylor 1989, Atkinson & Coffey 1996). It is a basic medium in which humans speak (Clandinin & Connelly 1991, Freeman 1997, Atkinson 1998). Narratives also encourage people to recount things that happened to them (Atkinson & Coffey 1996). People communicate by sharing stories about encounters and their feelings. People also use narratives to map and organize their thoughts and experiences (Bruner 1991). We use narratives to create and share personal experiences and cultural values and meanings (Atkinson & Coffey 1996). Narratives are an intricate part of human life. It is a common and comfortable method for people to share and process occurrences. Subjects do not need training in the presentation of their information.

Narratives are also a practical means for research, especially for the proposed research because it is concerned with personal experience (Clandinin & Connelly 1991). Narratives are about the personal experiences of individuals in a given time and place and that's why they are valuable (Riessman 1993). The information revealed can provide a profound understanding of

personal action and reveal relationships with other individuals and of the time. The gathering of these stories allows the identification of turning points possible (Faraday & Plummer 1979). Most research methods gloss over the moments of indecision, intentional change, and confusions, but life histories allow for these incidences to be exposed. Turning points and relationship between events and decisions, when revealed, provide an invaluable source of causal information and can help others discover their own thinking and reasoning of how things came to be.

Family stories are narratives, and are the “gist of social description, the raw material for both history and social change” (Carr 1986: 36). These stories can provide a look at the past as it is reflected in the present and the influences of family across generations (Thompson 1993). What is also depicted is how, within a framework, individuals choose to accept or reject familial transmissions. Consequently, narratives are able to offer family history and threads of values that may have been unconsciously passed on between generations. This is intricately related to this research which looks at a family history and values of an individual through different generations.

People are connected to time and constantly trying to make sense of the world around them. The past cannot be separated from the present. Narrative draws attention to context and temporality (Stephenson 2000, Mishler 1995, Bruner 1991) “Narratives link the sequence of events by showing how they relate to particular human ends and purposes” (Stephenson 2000: 114). The actions of a person and the reasoning and factors playing a role are brought to the surface.

In addition, narrative allows for reflection and deliberation while addressing different time periods and shows how past, present, and future are interconnected (Clandinin & Connelly 1991). It is through a thinking process that intentions are realized and individuals begin to recognize factors contributing to their decisions and actions. Inner experiences are identified (Faraday & Plummer 1979, Atkinson 1998). Inner experiences are at the root of this research.

“Life histories ... have a particular personal afterlife for the subject, the author/editor, and the community” (Schneider 1992: 61). Even after the stories have been shared, the findings can continue to influence individuals. The past is often used to help illuminate and identify conflicts and solutions for present situations. Having an “afterlife” suggests that narratives continue to contribute to individuals’ lives, thus adding to their worth. Each life history will present itself unique, however what is highlighted, may be worthwhile to another, if not the persons involved.

Life histories cannot present the “universal truth” (Faraday & Plummer 1979). Each narrative is a personal one and unique. It is likely that two life histories will contradict each other. Therefore it is difficult to make generalizations for a wider mass and therefore also makes the results difficult to link to theories (Clandinin & Connelly 1991). However, researchers who are believers in this method are more concerned with the details gathered from one subject, than making generalizations. Furthermore it is the accumulation of non-generalisable cases – using life history in this case –

which provides the basis for making generalizations and theories.

Sampling of life histories for a research can be limiting as it is not the most efficient method of data collection in terms of quantity. The number of cases per research is usually small because the physical task of gathering and interpreting data can be exhausting and extremely time consuming. Plummer refers to narrative sampling as “ ‘intensity sampling’ where key informants provide great insight into a particular area; or a ‘critical’ case sampling’ where stories are selected on the basis of providing detailed information on key, critical experiences” (Plummer 2001: 135). If the results a researcher seeks are statistical or require a larger sampling, another method would probably be more effective (Clandinin & Connelly 1991).

Narrative is built on the assumption that stories are an expression of human experience. The quality of the narrative is both unconsciously re-storied in life and consciously re-storied, re-told, re-lived through process of reflection (Clandinin & Connelly 1991). However, stories themselves can lead to criticism. A formula to confirm the “realness” of stories does not exist. “Narratives... are a version of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention and ‘narrative necessity’ rather than by empirical verification and logical requiredness”(Bruner 1991: 4). One needs to believe that stories are expressions of us and put faith in the stories told. It is because of the “need” for these stories, that they are used in research.

4.8 Validity, Reliability and other Criteria

The validity and reliability of interpretive research, including the use of narratives and life histories, are often contested because there is no standard format for assuring accuracy or means of conducting the research. The typical norms of judging validity and reliability that are used in explanatory research may not be entirely applicable in interpretive research. Traditional explanations of validity and reliability are easier to apply to quantitative (explanatory) research (Golafshani 2003) in which standard measurements exist. Creswell & Miller (2000) suggest that the terms represent different meanings depending on the researcher's beliefs. Winters (2000) would agree since he considers validity as something that is imbedded in the process, intentions and methodologies of a study. Other researchers, such as Lincoln & Guba (1985), Krefting (1991), and Mishler (1990) have suggested alternative terminology.

4.8.1 Validity

The most common definition of validity seems to be "Are we measuring what we think we are measuring?" (Kerlinger 1986: 417). "An account is valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena, that it is intended to describe, explain, or theorise" (Hammersley 1987: 69).

Validity is concerned with making sure that what is being studied and measured match. Unlike quantitative research, where a set of measurements are in place and something is being tested, interpretive research is not always about testing something but it more about explaining a relationship, finding and understanding meanings within a context.

Different types of validity are mentioned in literature regarding research methods. Maxwell (1992) advocates five types of validity as they relate to phases of a research – descriptive, interpretive, theoretical, generalisability, and evaluative. Golfshani (2003) and Winters (2000), are among the researchers who discuss construct validity – the extent to which generalizations and meanings can be applied in other periods of times, settings, and populations which seems to be aligned with the meaning of external validity and not necessarily pertaining to interpretive research.

Commonly found in literature are discussions on internal and external validity (e.g. Gerring 2007, Trochim 2006, LeCompte & Goetz 1982). Internal validity refers to extent which findings accurately describe the specific reality under study (Winters 2000) or as LeCompte & Goetz (1982: 43) put it “do scientific researchers actually observe or measure what they think they are observing or measuring?” or a “process check” (Gerring 2007). External validity refers to representativeness of the data generated to the larger population. Winters (2000) reiterates that generalizing in interpretive research is more concerned with the “development of theories” than about generalizations to the mass population (8).

The differentiating of the types of validity seems to stem from the desire to enhance the applicability of the terms. Lincoln and Guba (1985) would argue that in order to obtain one type of validity, the researcher would have to relinquish some parts of the other.

Remembering

This research depends on stories collected from the participants' memories. Remembering is a subjective event (Ochs & Capps 1997) and thus stories are often scrutinized for their validity. Is what is being shared real? Argument for the validity of narratives is, that because the mind cannot be observed, thus the "remembered past is presented as true. "*Remember* is a factual mental verb" (Ochs & Capps 1997: 83). For Polkinghorne, memory, once shared, becomes part of the culture and shared community, therefore becoming "real" (Polkinghorne 1995). Stories hold truth in them. In other words, life histories are dealing with the "subjective reality" of an individual (Faraday & Plummer 1979). Accounts are subjective, and that is where the truth lies (Kohli 2005). Therefore the information presented is true and valid. The goal of the life stories in this particular proposed research is to seek the person's perspective of life, education, and language.

4.8.2 Reliability

Validity should not to be confused with reliability, which is "the extent to which a measure is consistent" (Fitz-Gibbon & Morris 1987: 106).

Reliability focuses on the technique and consistency of the research method and its ability to present matching results if the research is repeated. Kirk & Miller(1986) recognize three types of reliability – degree of consistency in the results, stability over time, and similarity within a determined time frame. Essentially, will the results be the same in the future as in the past given the same circumstances. Though different, validity and reliability are linked together. Usually, when validity is achieved, reliability is also established

(Patton 1990, 2001, Lincoln & Guba 1985).

The issue with reliability in interpretative research is the same issue as with validity in interpretive research. The researcher is the tool of measurement in qualitative research (Patton 1990, 2001) and thus no two researchers will be able to exactly execute the process or reach the exact same findings. The relationship, views, experiences and behaviours of the researcher will affect the outcome even if the questions and format of the research is consistent. In addition the participants may change over time and many factors can affect the outcome and even the process. However, this does not mean that the rigor and accuracy of the research is unachievable.

4.8.3 Trustworthiness

A consensus for determining validity and reliability for qualitative data “is unlikely to succeed for the simple reason that there is no unified body of theory, methodology or method that can be collectively described as qualitative research...” (Rolfe 2004: 305). Qualitative, (interpretive) research is unlike quantitative (explanatory) research and the “issues at stake in qualitative research are fundamentally different from those in quantitative research” (Rolfe 2004: 305). New terminology and definitions arise when attempts are made to verify the rigor of a research. We cannot “test” the research in the same way, and in order to present their research as valid and reliable, new definitions and terms are generated.

Though there are critics of using these alternate terms (e.g. Smith &

Heshusius 1986, Long & Johnson 2000), Lincoln and Guba (1985) advocate the use of the term trustworthiness which they believe is at the crux of any research. Trustworthiness is further broken down into credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability and is achieved when the researcher convinces the readers that the findings of the research are worthwhile.

Credibility

In interpretive research, credibility relies less on sample size, and more on the comprehensiveness of the information collected and the analytical skills of the researcher (Patton 1990). Credibility addresses whether the research is believable (Trochim 2006). Accurate descriptions are important and the reconstructions of the events must be believable to the participants as well as researchers (Lincoln & Guba 1985). The descriptions and interpretations should be presented so that others who share that experience would readily recognize them (Thomsen, McCoy, & Williams 2000).

Lincoln & Guba (1985) identify “member checking” as a critical technique for enhancing credibility, but we cannot expect expert researchers, novice researchers, respondents, and participants to deduct the same categories, as the researcher because people are essentially different. Porter (2007: 84) suggests that that member checking may not “provide a basis for validation” but it can “generate additional data and suggest interesting paths for further analysis”.

Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree in which the research can be generalized or transferred into another context or setting (Trochim 2006). Transferability can be improved with thorough descriptions of the research context and theories pertaining to the research. A thorough description of the research context and the assumptions surrounding the research is important. With adequate information, another researcher can determine if the findings could be “transferred” to another similar context (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

Dependability

Dependability is whether a researcher is able to describe everything that occurs in the research including changes within the context and how these changes affected the researcher and the study (Trochim 2006). Unlike reliability, which is a measurement’s ability to produce similar results, every time, dependability is more about the presenting the process so that it is transparent and traceable.

Confirmability

Confirmability refers to whether the research can be corroborated by other researchers (Trochim 2006). In interpretive research, the researcher is the tool and every researcher will have different perspectives which can affect a study. Therefore, to ensure confirmability, it is important for the researcher to document the procedures and another researcher can “audit” the work by re-examining it.

Essentially, these terms are aligned with traditional terms used to evaluate

research, with some variation. Below is an example:

Figure 3 Comparison of Terminology use for Validity, Reliability and Other Criteria

Traditional Terms	Lincoln & Guba (1985)	Krefting (1991)
Internal Validity	Credibility	Truth Value
External Validity	Transferability	Applicability
Reliability	Dependability	Consistency
Objectivity	Confirmability	Neutrality

The use of alternate terms is usually to separate qualitative from quantitative research. There are researchers who will agree with Long & Johnson (2000: 30) that “there is nothing to be gained from the use of alternative terms which, on analysis, often prove to be identical to the traditional terms of reliability and validity”, but others will find the different terms more applicable.

Ultimately, validity and reliability are about one’s judgment and the goal is still to present research so that is “an account [which] accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers” (Hammersley 1990: 57). “Attaining absolute validity and reliability is an impossible goal for any research model” (LeCompte & Goetz 1982: 55). Validity and reliability can be limiting because they are dependent on the experience, reasoning and understanding of the researcher. Moreover, “It is the writer’s responsibility to demonstrate that the research they are reporting has been conducted in a valid and rigorous manner, while the readers’ responsibility is to interpret the report to ascertain whether or not they are persuaded that the writer has indeed demonstrated rigor” (Porter 2007: 81). In the end, both the researcher and the

readers are accountable for determining the value of a study (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 232). Even with the use of alternative terms, such as dependability and consistency, or credibility and transferability, to evaluate the validity and reliability of interpretive research, interpretive research can still be considered “subjective” as it is based heavily on the perceptions and opinions of the researcher and the readers. There is no rigid test to assess the validity and reliability of the research as could be conducted with explanatory research.

In my research, methods recommended by researchers (e.g. Silverman 2000, Lincoln & Guba 1985, Creswell 2003, Patton 1990, 2001 and Spradley 1979) to enhance trustworthiness, which encompasses validity and reliability, were used. For the purpose of this research, the term trustworthiness will be used interchangeably with validity and reliability since the concepts are pursuing the same goal of ensuring that the research is carefully carried out and meaningful.

Triangulation

Triangulation is endorsed by researchers (e.g. Denzin 1978, 1984, Goetz & LeCompte 1986, Janesick 1994, Miles & Huberman 1983, Patton 1990, 2001, Creswell 2003, Lincoln & Guba 1985, Yin 1994) to enhance the trustworthiness of a study. Denzin (1978) introduces four types of triangulation – methods, sources, analyst and theory. Methods triangulation uses different data collection methods. Sources triangulation is concerned with using different sources from the same period of time. Analyst triangulation refers to multiple researchers conducting the research or

multiple reviewers of the analysis and findings. Theory triangulation is the use of different perspectives and theories to address the data. A simplified definition of triangulation is a “validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study” (Creswell & Miller 2000: 126). It is a “protocol” to establish accuracy (Stake 1995) and stems from an ethical need (Yin 1994).

Stories can be validated with other historical facts if need be, even if it is the subjective truth that the research is seeking, because that alone is telling. Validation can be made through other sources as well. For example, other people’s stories can validate and ensure the validity of another’s because one’s life stories, will include stories of others as well (Bertaux-Wiame 1981). So it is possible to use another person’s story to verify something collected. We believe that a fairly constant reality exists within a given context (Berg 2007). Data sources can also be items such as photographs, newspaper articles, or journals. In this thesis, documentation on Luo’s father and the newspaper he worked on were viewed. Newspaper articles mentioning Luo were also viewed (e.g. 從醫界看早期臺灣與歐美的交流 (Looking at Taiwan’s earlier relationship with Europe and America from the perspective of the medical field), 2011.05.23 “70 年前的眼睛” (Views from 70 years ago) at United Daily News). Her stories were checked against history books for consistency of the times and also against her peer’s interviews. Through the use of triangulation, in which the information is checked against different data sources, validity can be increased (Plummer 2001).

Reliability, as mentioned before, is difficult to measure, and presents itself as so in the case of narratives. Again, there are no standardized formulas, questionnaires, or questions to follow. There are not any formal blueprints to verify the reliability in the stories shared. Reliability, or the dependability of narratives, however, will come from the consistency of the narratives. As long as there are no contradictions within a subject's life history, then, the information can be presumed reliable, especially if it can be verified by others. Therefore triangulation is important again (Tellis 1997b). The method of narratives, in terms of data collection, is a reasonably reliable format in which the researcher seeks the stories from a subject.

Prolonged engagement and being familiar with the participants help enhance credibility (Lincoln & Guba 1985, Patton 1990, 2001). In this research, engagement was over many years and I, as the researcher, was already part of the same culture and community. Observations were conducted over long periods of time and the stories continued to be consistent. The participants were candid and willing to tell their stories and their stories were triangulated with other stories, newspaper reports and historical books. In addition, all interviews were recorded and transcribed and given to the participants to audit before being analyzed. Final copies were also made available. By allowing a person to look over the final copy of the data or paper is another possibility to ensure validity (Atkinson 1998).

Though there might be concerns that narratives are solicited inappropriately which might dismantle the reliability and validity of the research, if that was to be the case, it would be evident in the documentation of data collection.

With the documentation, it is possible to see if the researcher misinterpreted the story or guides the subject to create stories for the sake of the research. Lincoln & Guba (1985) suggest the use of an "inquiry audit," in which readers can inspect the process and the product of the research for consistency. All materials would be made readily available including the transcriptions, notes, interpretations, coding and the final product.

To address reliability through analyst triangulation, another researcher who is more experience with interpretative research and has knowledge of Mandarin, Tai-yu, and English, was asked to review the transcriptions, translations, interpretations, and coding done by me to see if the research was solid and suitable. She also had access to my notes taken throughout the entire research to provide feedback if the research was overly subjective.

Narratives can be valid and reliable or as Bertaux-Wiame (1981) claims, life history, is as capable of presenting valuable data as statistics, but on a different level. The trustworthiness of a story depends on the researcher's ability to convince readers that the research results are meaningful (Lincoln & Guba 1985). The ability of qualitative data to fully describe an experience is important not only from the researcher's perspective, but from the reader's perspective as well. Life stories are advantageous because information is in a form that people experience life and can be better understood (Lincoln & Guba 1985), therefore more likely to find the research worthwhile. Measures were taken in this research to enhance trustworthiness.

4.9 Overview of Data Collection Procedures

Originally, this research was to look at the experiences of three generations of women and how their education and home language affected their identity. During the course of the research, changes were made to the sampling and the topic narrowed to one person's life. The end result is a study of one woman's stories and how her education and circumstances helped in creating her identity.

The decision to interview the researcher's grandmother was based on accessibility and also because the topic stemmed from a personal interest. Additional interviews were conducted with friends, Dr. Lin and Dr. Lam of the grandmother because they lived in the same time period and were presumed to have similar experiences. This particular generation of persons was chosen because they experienced three different forms of education, whether directly or indirectly. During their youth, schooling was conducted in Japanese. Then their own children were educated in Mandarin and their grandchildren in predominately English.

Interviews were conducted in the languages that came naturally to those being interviewed. Spradley (1979) encourages the use of the native language. For this research, mostly the native language of the subject, Tai-yu, was used, occasionally Mandarin and English were injected. These are the languages commonly used in communication between the counterparts. The language used is of importance because language helps immerse an individual into a culture (Fay & McGoun 2004). Language helps an

interviewer absorb into a culture and increase understanding and trust from and of the subject.

This research began in the summer of 2006. After the initial topic choice and interview guide preparation, the researcher conducted practice interviews with peers to become familiar with the process and to pilot whether the question could assist in the soliciting of information. Interviews with the researcher's mother, which were later excluded from the research and considered more of piloting of interviews, were conducted September 5, 2007 and September 10, 2007 at her home. Each interview lasted approximately 1.5 hours.

Interviews with the main subject were conducted over a number of years. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and was always conducted at the Luo's place of residence, and usually after her afternoon nap. A total of nine interviews, each approximately one hour, were conducted – September 4, 2007; October 14, 2007; October 28, 2007; April 4, 2008; December 22, 2009; February 15, 2010; June 23, 2010; July 7, 2010; and August 6, 2011. Two interviews were conducted with each of her two peers; each interview lasted over an hour as the respondents were very eager to talk about their past. These interviews were conducted on June 06, 2008; June 28, 2008; August 04, 2009; and August 04, 2010. The latter ones with the second interviewee were not included in the final presentation of this thesis. These were excluded because the participant's narratives tended to veer into discussions not related to education, language or identity; sometimes as a result of being difficult to overcome the personal relationship of the interviewee. She knows

the researcher as the granddaughter of her friend. Additionally, she would use Japanese which is a language I, as a researcher, am not fluent in. In contrast, Luo's and Lin's interviews were both better focused. In comparison to Luo, both her peers had memories that were not as sharp as hers and therefore their stories also tended to be repetitive and limited. A part of Dr. Lin's interviews was used because it related directly to the study.

The interviews were originally transcribed in their original language; therefore most of the interviews were transcribed into Tai-yu which does not have a standardized writing system. The writing system is phonetically based. It does share Mandarin characters with Mandarin, but because of the pronunciations of the words, and at times, the sentence structures of words that would correlate to certain meanings do not match exactly. (See <http://www.omniglot.com/chinese/taiwanese.htm> or <http://www.tailingua.com/language/> for more information on the writing systems).

Some interview transcriptions used more Mandarin characters in order for them to be more comprehensible to any reader (See Appendix C) but when reading them back, the researcher would read them using the Tai-yu pronunciation, since that was the original language. Ultimately, the transcripts had to be easy to work with, but reference to any original Tai-yu version was consulted during translation (See Appendix D for sample of note-taking and field note of transcript section).

The transcriptions were reviewed by another researcher for accuracy and

final transcripts were provided also for the interviewees to view, comment, and attest to their accuracy. After selection of excerpts to be used and after translation, a third party once again reviewed the translations to ensure they were appropriate.

For the purposes of writing the thesis, the interview extracts had to be translated and only the translations are given in the analysis. Original texts are not included in the analysis other than a few words in parenthesis next to the translations. This was a conscious decision to present everything in English. English words used by the participants are indicated with *italics* in the quotes. Citations for the quotes are referenced by the initial(s) of person interviewed followed by the date of interview (e.g. EL2007/04/07).

In addition to these interviews, observations of the main subject were carried out in a variety of social situations including her interactions with great-grandchildren, grandchildren, children, and friends. Usually settings were informal get-togethers, with others being formal lunches and dinners. During observations, notes were jotted, no recordings occurred. Citations to observation notes and field notes were referenced by FN followed by the date of the observation and/or note-taking. (e.g. FN2007/04/07).

4.10 Overview of Data Analysis Procedures

All data requires interpretation. Interpretation is occurring even as we begin our data collection when we try to understand the subjects' stories and analysis follows with a transformation of the collected data into a coherent

narrative.

“A life story interview is a collaborative effort...” (Atkinson 1998: 61), and the story is “co-authored” (Mishler 1995: 117). Both parties are involved in the telling and retelling of stories. We do not “find” stories, we “make” stories. How we retell the stories told to us depends on our analytic description, our research methods such as research strategies and transcription. We are the storytellers through our concepts and method – our research strategies, data samples, transcription procedures, specifications of narrative units and structures, and interpretations (Mishler 1995).

We organize material so that it makes sense to us (Atkinson & Coffey 1996). Even as the researcher jots down his/her observations and notes, interpretation is already occurring (Clandinin & Connelly 1991). As we process information, we are making interpretations so that we have an understanding. “We bring to bear our own time specific and culture specific understandings of things...” (Freeman 1997: 174). What information is presented may be new information that does not automatically fit into our schema of understanding; therefore interpretation must occur for us to process the information. For example in this research when Luo was discussing her experiences at school during the Japanese occupation, she mentions speaking the “national language” at school (EL2007/09/04). Having only heard the words “national language” used to refer to Mandarin, I was confused and needed clarification to understand that she meant Japanese (FN2007/09/04).

Through the interactions between researcher and subject, “contamination” is inevitable. The question becomes how much of the researcher’s previous knowledge or beliefs are imposed on the subject’s? Faraday and Plummer (1979) present a “Continuum of Contamination” which identifies the scope of interference possible. Though the interference with a story may vary, the “researchers who use life histories can legitimately move through any stage on the continuum as long as they publicly acknowledge how far they are ‘contaminating’ the data” (Faraday & Plummer 1979: 788).

Figure 4

Continuum of Contamination				
I	II	III	IV	V
Subject’s “Pure Account”				Sociologist’s “Pure Account”
e.g. Original diaries Unsolicited letters Autobiographies Personal experience	Edited personal documents	Systematic thematic analysis	Verification by anecdotes (exemplifying)	e.g. Sociological theories of labelling, identity, drive, reduction, etc.

(Faraday & Plummer 1979:787)

This research moved through the continuum as Faraday & Plummer (1979) suggest could happen. An attempt was made to stay as close to the subject’s pure account but the data collected relied heavily on her stories collected during interviews and because there was interaction during the interviews, it probably moves between the first three stages of the continuum. An amount

of contamination is inevitable since in the final product analysis needed to occur. The narratives were kept in the original form until being analysed for presentation in the thesis which then required some forms of contamination, therefore for the later part of this research, the research and thesis would fall into the later three stages of the continuum.

Analysis and presentation of data

Data analysis is “ working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is learned, and deciding what you will tell others” (Bogdan & Biklen 1982: 145). When this is done, critical themes will emerge from the data (Patton 1990).

The analysis process includes the organization of the data collected as well as examination of the data. Data is sorted to determine if major themes exist and if so, a second sorting of smaller themes to help identify patterns and relationships found across collected data. Attempts are made to look for critical incidents and contradictions as well. Analysis is intended to highlight relationships and events which affect the subjects’ education, identity, and language. Culture is embedded in narratives, and in analysis, it can be further explored. Language, community, social relation, rules, conventions, and beliefs are elements of culture (Freeman 1997).

In this research, data analysis was completed by conducting continuous and numerous readings of the interview transcripts. Narratives related to language, education, and identity were extracted. Using the definition of

narrative as applied in this thesis, it is a story or a first-person account of experiences. In Luo's interviews, she would share story after story of her experiences, in temporal sequence, and these were used in the findings. Since Luo shared experiences of herself as a child into her adulthood, she was able to give what can be considered a life history, in that presents the "totality" that Atkinson (1998) and Faraday & Plummer (1979) emphasize, though others do not separate the definitions (4.6.2.).

Three major identities emerged on the forefront – Japanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese and thus these were the identities included in Chapter 5. From her narratives, it can be deducted that Luo was socio-economically privileged, therefore the issue of gender does not appear to matter in this study. For the most part, she presented her stories in chronological order which falls into a natural alignment with her references to the identities and thus much of the data is organized in this manner.

For a narrative to "work well" Plummer (2001) suggests four points. "A sense of ordering ... of events ... We cannot comprehend 'timelessness'" (Plummer 2001: 196). In the analysis, it is necessary to not only stay true to the organization of the stories as told by the subject, but it is also necessary to present the narratives in a coherent sequence as well. In addition to the time concept of stories, there needs to be a "sense of the person behind the text" and "a sense of the voice and perspective belonging to a narrator" also. The story needs to reflect the subject and allow the audience to "relate" to the person. Lastly, plot is important in order to create a sense of causality, even if things happen by chance (Plummer 2001). Even with chance, there is a

relationship that exists. The validity and reliability of a story is in the accuracy of the data and the plausibility of the plot (Polkinghorne 1995, Carr 1986).

To create this plot, “narrative smoothing” must occur. “Narrative smoothing” refers to the elimination of unnecessary information (Polkinghorne 1995). In this process of analysis, the researcher must decide which elements “fit” and dispose of the others (Polkinghorne 1995). The data and the final story need to be organized so that there is meaning in the presentation.

This research seeks to organize events according to how they influence the creation of identity and lead to decision making in relation to schooling and language. Narratives, or stories, unrelated to the topics were excluded. For example in this research Luo discusses education in regards to punishments her younger son received from the teacher in regards to performing poorly on his tests (EL2009/12/22). Since this information did not relate directly to Luo’s identity construction, it was not included in the presentation of this thesis.

Reflection/Restorying

In this process the researcher reflects on the process and the data, then proceeds to restory the data and follows it up with confirmations with the interviewed that the material is correct. This process can be seen as a co-inquiry (Reason & Rowan 1981), in which participants and researcher work together to not only validate the information presented but seek to reach an unified understanding of the product. It is similar to Lincoln &

Guba's (1985) member checking notion. For example in this research after the interviews were transcribed, the participants were given the opportunity to review the data and an opportunity to discuss any issues.

Having explained the methodology, data collection and analysis, we can turn in the next chapter to presentation and interpretation of the data.

Chapter 5 - Findings

Luo led a very different life than generations that followed hers. Her experiences and encounters with diverse situations, conditions, and persons contribute to the various ways in which she identifies herself. In this chapter, I proceed to analyze the collected data for information related to identity, language, and education. First, I will present the identities that emerged from the participant's narratives, focusing mainly on national and ethnic identities, and how they were expressed whether explicitly or not. Often times, they were very much intertwined for the participant and no clear definition between national and ethnic identity was made.

Following the presentation of the three main identities that emerged, this chapter will be organized into the following sections – Education as a source of identities, Education as a source of languages, Languages and their relations to identities, and Languages and how they are used with other people. Examples from the participants' narratives will be included to show the relationships and how they, in turn, contributed to an identity. Along the way and in the conclusion of this section, my findings based on Luo's ideas and experiences, will be compared to theoretical models and other studies, which have been discussed in previous chapters.

The interviews were transcribed in the languages used by the participants as explained in Chapter 4 (Methodology). However, since this thesis needs to be presented in English, therefore translations had to occur and inevitably, things might have changed in the process. In order to indicate differences

between translations and original words in English, original English words are italicized. Also, as addressed earlier in chapter 4.9, as a researcher, I am aware this can affect the content and therefore the findings. Every measure was taken to ensure the accuracy of the translations including having others review the translations (as explained in Chapter 4).

5.1 Identities

Literature suggests the characteristics of identity to be multiple (Parmenter 2000, Hall 1993, etc.), context – dependent (Harrell 1996, Norton 2010, etc.) and fluid (Miller 2000, Brown 2004 etc.) (3.1.2). These characteristics were apparent during the analysis of the narratives collected during this research as well. From the narratives, national and ethnic identities emerged on the forefront, which is one of the reasons it was focused on here.

When analyzing the transcripts of the interviews, it is evident that Luo identifies/d herself as a Japanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese over the course of her life with the identities frequently co-existing during various periods of her life. Some identities were explicitly verbalized, others more implicit. For the organization of this thesis, I attempt to present her three identities in a chronological order as they definitely related to the historical context of the time – the Japanese occupation, the KMT rule, lifting of martial law, and a more current and democratic Taiwan. First I look at her Japanese identity, then Chinese, and lastly Taiwanese.

5.1.1 Japanese

“I was Japanese when I had a Japanese passport. I was Japanese.”

“Passport that’s where you are born – that’s your own country. Taiwan was controlled by Japan then, so we were Japanese.”
(EL 2007/10/28)

Here, she uses the place of birth and a passport as an indicator of her nationality and though she claims to have been Japanese, her following comments imply that she did not intrinsically identify with the Japanese identity.

“When I was small, I was Japanese. No one thought about China. Wherever you exist, that is your home. We just learned to survive where we were. The Japanese are a different race, not the same race as us. We just happened to be ruled by them and it couldn’t be helped. Where else could we go? Taiwan was our home.” (EL 2007/10/28)

Despite claiming to be Japanese, she quickly comments on their differences. The categorizing of the Japanese as a different race, suggests that she sees herself as dissimilar from the Japanese, despite the overall national identity. She identifies with Taiwan as being her home, not Japan who “ruled” Taiwan, as her country.

She continued throughout the interviews to identify herself as Japanese based on her citizenship, which she associated with the physical possession of a passport. The significance of this passport, it seems, is that it represents a linkage to a country that she did not originate from. It allows her to be part of

what Anderson (1991) refers to as “imagined community.” Though she does not know the country or the people of it, she identifies and associates with it and them.

“Lee Teng hui (previous Taiwanese president of Taiwan) once said until he was 22, he was a Japanese. *Up to 22 years old he was Japanese.* I am four years older than him so I was Japanese before I was 26 years old. I was one of them. I had a Japanese passport because Taiwan was controlled by Japan then and I was a Japanese *subject*. Didn’t I tell you before, when I did the *student exchange* to Stanford; I was one of the Japanese? I had a Japanese passport and the Japanese government sponsored my trip. After 26 years old, I became Chinese. It has to be like this.” (EL2007/10/14)

This follows historical events (2.1 & 2.2). In 1945, when Luo was 26, the Japanese occupation ended and the arrival of the KMT proceeded. The reference to the Japanese passport again, acts an indicator of nationality and here, she adds the use of the ruling government as the basis of determining her national identity. Japanese when the Japanese were in power and Chinese once the KMT arrived. The matter-of-fact reference that the identity switched upon the arrival of the new government suggests that an allegiance with the prior one was not that strong as well because she does not mention any identity struggle.

Using the word, “subject” in referring to her position with the Japanese, implies she felt a hierarchy of ‘rulers’ and ‘ruled’ as in the previous quote or as the ‘controlled’ one in this passage. In both quotes, she does not seem to identify herself as Japanese by choice, but rather because that was how things had to be which suggests that identity was imposed on her and perhaps

the structure and the idea of hierarchy contributed to her not identifying completely with the Japanese.

Luo also repeatedly noted disparities in treatment between herself and the Japanese in her narratives, as if these were reminders that she was not really one of them. In the following excerpt she discusses inequalities experienced by the Taiwanese people, which are clear indicators of difference. In addition, she indicates the loss of dignity resulting from such policies and thus one can allude to her not completely owning the Japanese identity.

“The Japanese only wanted the Taiwanese to spend money and the Japanese could only have one wife, but they allowed the Taiwanese to have many wives. The Japanese government approved Taiwanese to marry more than one woman, but considered everyone other than the first wife to be a concubine. Taiwanese could smoke opium but Japanese could not because once you smoked, you could not work.

This is the evil side of the Japanese and I saw this side. The Japanese wanted to use us as slaves. This is not called equality. So we needed to fight to be independent and manage ourselves. Just like the British do not control Canada. Canada manages itself. I agree with this. The way the Japanese controlled us, made me lose my dignity, so I know the feeling.

Lots of Taiwanese think the Japanese did a very good job during the Japanese era, such as less robberies, more efficiency, but there were fewer people. When Chiang Kai Shek (CKS) came, there were about 6 million people and now there are 23 million people, including people he brought! There are more people so competition is higher, but even before, Taiwanese could not get higher positions. ” (EL2010/02/15)

This quote demonstrates that Luo’s awareness of inequitable standards between the Japanese and Taiwanese. She evaluates these policies and finds

them to be harmful to the Taiwanese despite others praising the Japanese for advancements; and therefore continues to distance herself from the Japanese identity. She refers to it as the “evil side” of the Japanese because these very policies put the Taiwanese in disadvantaged positions, or what she considers to be that of “slaves.” In addition, she adds that the “Taiwanese could not get higher positions” which therefore displays a sense of unfairness and consideration that Taiwanese were kept in lower positions and not able to advance.

Her statements, “This is not called equality,” and “The way the Japanese controlled us, made me lose my dignity...” reveal the detachment from the very identity the government attempted to create (2.2). By saying “us” she has aligned herself with the Taiwanese identity.

Luo’s display of an awareness of social groups and evaluation of the conditions allows her to shape her own identity and determine whether to associate with one group or the other. This very process of awareness, evaluation and affect is in accordance with Tajfel’s (1981) social identity theory in regards to categorization (3.1.3.1). It is also based on ongoing comparisons that Luo continuously separates herself from the Japanese identity and maintains her Taiwanese one. The ongoing comparisons are regarded by Oaks, Haslam & Turner (1994), also referenced in 3.1.3.1, as a means for individuals to maintain an identity, and for Luo here, it is her non-Japanese identity.

However, Luo’s family, despite being Taiwanese, received many privileges

during the Japanese occupation. They definitely enjoyed benefits that were similar to the Japanese themselves.

“At that time everyone called him (Luo’s father), ‘*Japanese prince*’ because our family held a Japanese passport, were Japanese nationals, and Japanese citizens. My father liked to spend his money and many of his friends were high officials in the Japanese government including the governor. In 1920 when my father went to the US for his masters, the second highest Japanese governor *make the paper* approved his application to go abroad. Back then if you did not have the proper papers from the Japanese government, Taiwanese could not go abroad. Just imagine that was more than 80 years ago.” (EL2008/04/04)

Again, she emphasizes the Japanese passports and translates that into having Japanese nationality and citizenship. What is of significance here is that her father was referred to by others as a “Japanese prince” because it suggests that he enjoyed the benefits of the Japanese. Being referred as such by other Taiwanese shows they viewed him as being Japanese and by enjoying such privileges, it also displays a certain amount of acceptance by the Japanese of him as one of their own. Her father’s acceptance by the Japanese will have influenced Luo in being able to accept herself as Japanese as well.

This comparison of similarities and differences between the self and others also continues with her Chinese identification process.

5.1.2 Chinese

Luo’s Chinese identity did not begin with the KMT’s arrival, but began in her early years at home. Just as Berger & Luckmann’s (1966) concepts regarding

primary socialization (3.3) suggest, the home is a crucial place for individuals to learn and attitudes and ideas of the family, and use them to create similar identities to those close to them.

Luo's bond with this Chinese identity, however, changes, as do her concepts of what is associated with that identity. At times she imagines being Chinese to be associated with education (e.g. Classical Chinese Mandarin) and ancestry, all originating from China. Other times, she detaches herself from the notion of Chinese when she discusses negative behaviours or treatments she experienced.

Chinese during the Japanese Occupation

“After school, I would come home and have one hour of Mandarin class, but our school didn't encourage this; but because my mother was a modern Chinese woman, she didn't want us to forget our ancestral language (by which she meant Mandarin). My mother had a tutor and her tutor would teach me too. She didn't want us to forget our roots because she knew the Japanese were in control, but you still needed to understand the *original country language*. I would read Mandarin but with Tai-yu pronunciation. My parents wanted me to be able to write compositions and read literature.” (EL2007/09/04)

Though Luo has not explicitly stated that she is Chinese, she hints at this identity by referring to China as the “original country.” Identity can be related to territory as suggested by researchers such as Hall (1992) and Yu (2010) (3.1.3.1.2). She also refers to Mandarin as the “ancestral language” which further suggests the relationship to the ancestors in China. During this time in her life that she is referring to in this passage, she has not had direct contact with China, but has formed perceptions of what Chinese means and

identifies with them as her ancestors.

This sense of cultural identity, is also one of ethnic identity Hall (1993) (3.1.3.1.1). The construction of an ethnic identity, based on ancestry has been suggested by Hall (1992), Cornell & Hartmann (1998), and Fenton (1999) in Zhu (2007) (3.1.3.1.2) and the association with land, history, language, and culture is what separates one ethnic identity from another.

Luo's mother's influence in encouraging this Chinese identity is also significant. Ethnicity and ethnic language learning is rooted in parental influence as Tse (1996) has proposed (3.5). Luo refers to her own mother as a modern Chinese woman. She considers her mother modern because of her mother's desires to receive further education, which was not common in those times. She also referred to her mother as Chinese as opposed to Taiwanese and Japanese, which suggests an identification with the Chinese identity, which again could be a result of the belief in a common ancestry as implied with the use of the word "roots". Familial influence is an important contributor to how individuals perceive the world (Berger & Luckmann 1966, McAdams 1993, Yu 2010) and thus contribute to the identity construction process (3.3).

Chinese during KMT rule

Identities can be multiple, fluid and are context dependent, (3.1.2.1, 3.1.2.2, & 3.1.2.3) and these characteristics are continuously seen in Luo's identity construction process with the arrival of a new government.

“When I heard that Chiang Kai-shek was coming, I was very happy. I thought we are the same race so they (KMT) should be nicer to the Taiwanese, but he was arrogant and uneducated. The Japanese researched how to rule Taiwan. They had training, not greedy and corrupt. One is one. Two is two. They were trustworthy. Everything with the Chinese had to do with greed. It was very corrupt.”
(EL2007/10/14)

First, I observe her making a connection with the Chinese coming because she identifies herself as being of the “same race.” She also refers to herself as Taiwanese which depicts her as having multiple identities.

Then her comments about CKS being “uneducated” implicitly contrasts with what she says about her mother in the earlier quote. Initially, her ideas of Chinese stemmed from her exposure to classical Chinese literature and writing as a child, as well as her parents’ willingness to associate themselves to being of Chinese descent. Her images of the Chinese were educated people similar to her in origin. However, when CKS arrived with his troops, she realized the reality she was seeing was different than that she imagined.

Her comparisons between the Japanese and Chinese suggest that she does not want to be associated with her negative conception of what being Chinese now represents (e.g. the greed, corruptness and lack of education). Her original perceptions of the Chinese have quickly changed and the striking differences have quickly formed a divide between her and “them”. Wachman (1994:45) also notes this recognition of difference between Taiwanese and Chinese in his research.

Identity changes based on social actions as individuals see “commonalities” and “differences” with others (Harrell 1996:5) (3.1.2.1 & 3.1.3.1.2) Different habits in lifestyle also influenced Luo’s disconnect with the Chinese identity. It is evident she noted this existence of a different group and is positioning her “self” in relation to “others” here, and in some ways, “intentionally”, as Bucholtz & Hall (2005) suggest can occur during identity construction (3.1.1 & 3.1.2.1) Below is an example of the actions she could not identify with.

“We had to bribe the government for everything. If you go to the government for any reason, you need to be prepared. If you don’t give a bribe, they won’t tell you what you need to process your request. The Japanese wouldn’t do that. They would tell you what time to arrive, what you need and everything would be completed. Today they would handle a certain number of cases and tomorrow how many – it was known. They would always help you. If you went and didn’t have everything, they would tell you what was missing, but the Chinese government was not like that. If you’re missing something, after you get it, they will tell you you’re missing another thing. So if you want it faster, then you have to give red envelopes – money is the fastest way.” (EL2007/10/14)

Though she has referred to herself as “Chinese” in contrast to her previous identity of Japanese, she does not associate with the behaviours or this particular group of “Chinese” who consisted of the KMT members retreating to Taiwan. She indicates differences in behaviour which Keefe (1992) has also suggested is a basis for individuals to separate themselves from a group (3.1.3.1.2). Luo was accustomed to the Japanese law abiding ways, regardless of identity recognition. Upon the arrival of the KMT, she felt “cultural” differences and thus her identity shifted; but this is a seemingly normal change, since identities are fluid (3.1.2.1).

Luo's frustrations towards the KMT government seem to further alienate her from forming the national identity that the KMT tried to create. She continued to separate herself from them in further conversations such as the following which suggests that another reason for a lack of connection with the Chinese identity despite acknowledging the Chinese as her ancestors and being of the same race, could be the difference in language.

“After the Kuomintang came, I couldn't understand the national language (國語). I would listen to the people speak and I would guess it's probably this that they mean.” (EL2007/09/04)

A national language has been considered a glue for creating a common identity (Hsiau 1997, Balsera 2005, etc.) (3.5), because it is something that can be used not only for people to identify with but also to communicate with and be used to create a cohesive identity (Watson 1992). The imposing of a new national language with the hope of achieving such unity was not initially successful because it simply highlighted differences between the groups; and not being able to communicate in the language continued to distance the two groups especially in the first stages of the takeover.

The lack of language abilities and differences in lifestyles probably also contributed to the Chinese and Taiwanese not mingling before and during martial law. Luo mostly kept within her own ethnic group as the following quote shows.

“I didn't hang out with the Waisheng ren (Chinese) very much. Our generation did not have a relationship with them. When the KMT

restoration occurred, I was already married so who cared about them.
We just minded our own business. They had their own circles.”
(EL2007/09/04)

In Keefe’s (1992) study, she found barrios to have been significant in contributing to ethnic identity. Those who lived in barrios displayed a strong ethnic loyalty. The separate “circles” in Luo’s situation may have contributed similarly.

However, after martial law was lifted and as Taiwan moved towards to becoming a democratic state, her ideas of being Chinese changed with the times. Her definitions or perceptions of being Chinese changed as well, which is reflected in her identity shifts.

5.1.3 Taiwanese

“Social contexts, memberships, and interactions, as well as language use, will frame identity work – the process of identification with some and differentiation from others” Miller (2000: 74) argues and for Luo, the social contexts and interactions with groups definitely contributed to a change or consolidation with an identity. The role of language will be investigated in a later section of this chapter.

Though she has referred to herself as Japanese and Chinese, which were affected by the political conditions of the time, following historical changes, Luo’s Taiwanese identity seems to have been consistent throughout her life, often in the shadows of the overarching national identity of the controlling

government.

When sharing her stories about her life during the Japanese occupation, she would refer to herself as both Japanese and as Chinese and as her stories progressed into the KMT years, the Japanese identity slowly subsided and the references remained mostly focused on her Chinese and Taiwanese identities. She would use them to represent both national and ethnic identities though she never specified if one was national or ethnic at any time or used such terminology.

Her comments referring to more recent times, at a time when Taiwan and China are economically connected, though still politically separate, show that she now recognizes both identities.

“I was born in Taiwan. I am Taiwanese, but at the same time I am Chinese. Our origin is from China-Fukien of China.... Big China. I like it. It includes Taiwan. This I’m ok with. Large nations have more strength. ” (EL2011/08/06)

With this comment, it seems that she has created a Taiwanese identity that is associated with the physical land, but simultaneously ancestry comes into play when discussing her Chinese identity. She is accepting a Chinese identity that is connected to the origin of her ancestors and also one that is tied to more economic allegiances by suggesting that larger “nations have more strength.”

However, this was not always the situation. When mentioning earlier times in her life, she simply referred to herself as Taiwanese. The social conditions on

the island appear to have been influencing factors in her identity construction process.

Taiwanese during the Japanese occupation

Equality between the Japanese and the Taiwanese was never actually reached during the Japanese occupation and this discrepancy may have contributed to Luo's possession of a strong Taiwanese identity then. This identity comes from experiences she deemed unfair. These external forces and social constraints can influence cohesion and division during one's process of identification (Heylan 2005, Zhu 2007) since it creates an "insider" and "outsider" mentality (Miller 2000, Hall 1993, Gilroy 1997, etc.) (3.1.1). Below is an example of the inequality, which is a constant reminder of differences.

"Taiwanese protected their land, because it was inherited from their ancestors. No matter what, they could not sell. The Japanese were used to being at war with the Chinese as an excuse to gain our lands. The Japanese said our country has not taken hold over the southern part of China and we need sugar. They told the Taiwanese that we did not manage well, and forced Taiwanese to sell the sugar to Taiwan Sugar (which was operated by the Japanese government)...Taiwan was made up of large families like the Koo family, Kaohsiung's Chen family all had sugar cane fields and land left by their ancestors. In the earlier days brown sugar was made more than white sugar. When the Japanese wanted to buy sugar, they would send Taiwanese messengers to tell us that the Japanese are coming to buy sugar. If we didn't agree then we would be threatened that we would be jailed, so of course we sold the sugar to the Japanese. It was a situation we couldn't change."
(EL2010/06/23)

Again, Luo refers to ancestors, and shows this lineage as a reason why the

Taiwanese needed to hold onto this land. This Taiwanese “ness” is tied to ancestry and land as ethnic identity tends to be (Cornell & Hartmann 1998) (3.1.3.1.2). However in this incident, the ancestry is not that of China, but of Taiwan.

Luo continues by hinting of a Japanese hierarchy when she mentions the Japanese attempt of taking over the lands. By implying the Taiwanese are not capable because the properties were “not managed well,” it is suggested that the Taiwanese are therefore inferior. Punishment would be a result of disobeying the Japanese. This feeling of inequality resulting from political forces creates a distinct “them” and “us” mentality which contributes to identity construction or as Wei (2008:56) states, “identities emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion than a sign of an identical, naturally constituted unity.”

Luo felt strongly about the divisions between herself and the Japanese, and this feeling reinforced her Taiwanese identity; but she still credits the Japanese for the improvements they made to Taiwan.

“The Japanese wanted to always be leaders and others slaves. They didn’t want equality. But the Japanese were very smart. They wanted to always occupy Taiwan so they constructed roads and Sun Moon Lake, much more construction than previous occupiers. They also encouraged Taiwanese to attend elementary school and gave you a basic language ability, but you couldn’t learn too much. Like me, I’m part of the Japanese colonial policy. My father told me these theories when I was young, but other people didn’t know. Other people only knew that under Japanese control, there were less robberies, everyone had food, jobs to

do, but they never thought that letting Japanese control us means that we will always be slaves. All the benefits would be given to the Japanese first.” (EL2010/02/15)

As she commends the Japanese modernization efforts, we see the influence of family once more. Luo comments on her father’s teachings which taught her that she was not Japanese. Ethnic identity is based on what one receives from their ancestors, a shared land, language, culture, history, or all of the above (3.1.3.1.2). Her father’s influence enables her to have this Taiwanese identity in which she can compare to others. His beliefs and views impacted hers quite profoundly.

With every contribution the Japanese made to Taiwan, Luo seems to have created a negative aspect to it. She acknowledges the encouragement for everyone to attend school, but adds, “gave you a basic language ability, but you couldn’t learn too much” which suggests that she feels the intentions of the Japanese a limiting one, which is aligned to Japanese governmental sentiments (2.2.2). Luo’s reference to “slave” again is about the divide between the colonizer and the colonized and the positioning of the Taiwanese as inferior and controlled by the Japanese.

From the viewpoint of the colonized Taiwanese, she does not seem to have the will to become Japanese. This sense of divide and negativity towards the Japanese continues to distance her from fully believing in the Japanese identity despite having commented before that she is Japanese. This sense of negativity towards the Japanese’s actions creates a distance to the identity that the Japanese had hoped the colonized would form.

Education was definitely one of the benefits that her family enjoyed. However, it can be said, because of their educational experiences and privileges, Luo and her father were more aware of how the Taiwanese were being repressed. This awareness led to a strengthening of their Taiwanese identity and also led to Luo's father desire to advocate for Taiwanese rights. Taiwan was not the only country to experience this. Anderson (1991) notes similar experiences in Indonesia in which those educated to help the colonialist became ones who started change. This understanding of inequality influenced the detachment from the very national identity promoted by education.

The Japanese government, at some level, definitely believed Luo's family to be one of them. They trusted him with a task of gathering more support for them.

“My father studied abroad in Japan and the United States so he was fluent in English and Japanese. The Japanese wanted my father to go to Singapore and convince the ethnic Chinese (華人) to support the Japanese government's fight. My father was so frightened that he checked in Taiwan National University Hospital and was afraid to leave because he knew he could not disobey the Japanese government. He was afraid the Japanese government would take him away if he didn't fake being ill. He couldn't refuse their order either. In this way, my father was very smart. He knew not to get involved in the politics. Every Chinese hated the Japanese. How could there be a Chinese (中國人) that would help the Japanese? Most of the Chinese people's assets were already taken over by the Japanese in Singapore by then, how could an overseas Chinese want to help Japan? Especially if you did help Japan, then you would be considered a traitor, so my father faked his illness and stayed in the hospital.” (EL2008/04/04)

The Japanese recognized that Luo's father was still of Chinese heritage and felt that by sending him to talk to his peers, it would command a better response. Simultaneously they also perceived him as "Japanese" therefore instilled him with such responsibility. Luo's father, however, recognized that he was not fully Japanese and therefore could not follow through. At the same time, he knew that he needed to remain seemingly Japanese so that no conflicts would arise.

His Japanese identity can be said to be an "assigned" identity (Cornell & Hartmann 1998: 83) or what Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) classify as "imposed" identity (3.1.3). This identity was designated by the Japanese. His non-Japanese identity is one that is "negotiated" and "asserted" because of his own experiences. However, by seeming Japanese on the outside, but believing in his Taiwanese or Chinese, on the inside, Luo's father is assuming an identity as it fits his situation and by commenting that if her father had taken action, he could be considered a "traitor," she has aligned herself with a Chinese identity and not that of Japanese one.

Luo's father was an active Taiwanese figure and his work on trying to improve the lives of the Taiwanese contributed to Luo's understanding of her Taiwanese identity. He was proactive in presenting the "Taiwanese" perception and in his work and through it, she learned that she was Taiwanese as well. His efforts in working with Japanese government officials and with his newspaper impacted her identity construction.

“Su-hwei jie’s (jie is a term that means sister, but is used in showing respect when referring to a friend that is older) father and mine went to Japan once to voice their opinion that the Japanese government was too strict in their control of Taiwan. They had to find previous university professors who were now House Representatives so that this sentiment could reach the Japanese parliament. Her father, because he didn’t appropriately end his stock investments lost a lot of money, and also because he opposed the Japanese government too directly, was jailed.”(EL04/04/08)

At a very early age, she identified with being Taiwanese and understood that they were the suppressed by the Japanese from her father’s actions. She saw discrimination in schools (which will be presented later in this chapter), jailing for opposition of the government, and differential treatment.

Her father’s active role in the promotion and maintenance of the Taiwanese identity was an effort to gain equality continued to affect Luo’s identity construction process even beyond her early years.

“My father started the Shing Ming Bao (新明報). He gathered many wealthy Taiwanese to fund the paper. The paper reported on Taiwanese dissatisfaction towards the Japanese government but could not be written too directly. The paper also encouraged Taiwanese to receive Mandarin education, to learn how to write poems and compositions. At the same time, the paper reported on economics and the war. The paper ran for twenty some years. After the Japanese and American war began, Taiwan did not have any paper and the paper had to be shipped from Osaka until there was no more paper, then the newspaper stopped publication.” (EL2008/04/04)

Due to his strong relationship with the Japanese, her father was able to publish the newspaper without drawing too much attention to his views towards the government.

At home, he would often discuss with his family, friends, and partners about the social conditions and ways in which the Taiwanese needed to stand up for themselves. In this way, Luo's Taiwanese identity was solidified, in constant conversations and being around her father. This is again is an example of what Berger & Luckmann (1966) would consider to be primary socialization- the learning that happens at the home with family members (3.3).

When in public, Luo and other close Taiwanese family members or friends, were seemingly Japanese. They did not publicly voice their dissatisfaction. "We didn't exactly secretly oppose the Japanese and Japanese police. It was sort of like now, how we criticize Chen Shui Bien (president of Taiwan at the time of the interview). When we go out, we don't say anything."
(EL2008/04/04)

Her awareness of the issues at hand, contributed to her Taiwanese identity construction and maintenance. It might be safe to suggest that if the Japanese had fully incorporated and given the Taiwanese equal opportunities, the focus on differences may have been lessened and more Taiwanese could have identified with the Japanese identity. The "negotiated" identity might have fallen closer to that of the "imposed" as defined by Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) (3.1.3). The circumstances surrounding Luo, seemingly places her Taiwanese identity to fall into the "thick" and "asserted" quadrant of Cornell & Hartmann's theory as well (3.1.3).

Taiwanese during KMT rule

Luo's Taiwanese identity continued to evolve during the KMT rule. The KMT party needed to create an overarching Chinese identity in preparation for an unification with China. In trying to do so, the Taiwanese and/or Japanese identity needed to be contained if not eliminated in order for a smooth reunification when the time came (2.3 & 2.3.1). Therefore conditions experienced by the Taiwanese were harsh and once again contributed to the maintenance of the Taiwanese identity. Since the Japanese had left the island, the identification with Japan did not reappear, despite references to the Japanese when comparing them to the Chinese.

“Chiang Kai Shek (CKS) was a dictator. He stole our land, our goods, and everything that he could. The Japanese had laws. The Chinese have no laws. We, Taiwanese were accustomed to the Japanese ways.” (EL2007/10/14)

Here Luo clearly separates herself from the Chinese. She refers to herself as, “We, Taiwanese” which indicates her alliance with the Taiwanese identity. She continues along those lines with other narratives including the following one:

“Taiwanese people cannot understand 228. I think was some misunderstanding, but I don't understand either. CKS just ordered the police to randomly grab people (亂拿人). The Chinese had no rules and law. Just kept saying the Taiwanese are guilty. If the Chinese participate in any activities, they don't get any punishment, but Taiwanese get captured and killed. They don't have a reason to catch you, but they can create a reason to sentence you. So many people disappeared or were jailed. You can ask your mom. Your Tainan grandfather knew people. People were just taken away in the middle of the night and some never returned. That is the KMT; they mistreated (欺負) us Taiwanese.” (EL/2007/10/14)

Luo's sentiments towards 228 are clearly depicted here as unfair when she describes the "random"ness of actions and with her use of words such as "mistreated us Taiwanese." To relate to an identity, one must feel that they are part of that group (Tajfel 1981, Hall 1993, etc.). Though she was not personally involved in the 228 incident, she has taken on what Ellemers (2012) refers to as the "group self identity" (3.1.3.2). The emotions and experiences of the Taiwanese group have been taken on by her to become part of her experiences and her identity. The experiences of the Taiwanese as a whole separated them from the Chinese and thus the two identities did not merge.

The fear instilled by the KMT and the superiority exerted by them were issues for the Taiwanese, some of whom felt that their land had been taken over by people who should treated them better. Again, the "us" vs. "them" mentality contributed to the identities created.

Taiwanese after Martial Law

As socio-political conditions changed with martial law being lifted, the Taiwanese were allowed to voice their opinions more freely and speak Tai-yu more openly as well as take part in more governmental roles (2.3.2 & 2.3.2.3). Luo's identities and thoughts about each also changed.

At a friends' gathering in December 16, 2007, with many of her long-time Taiwanese friends a discussion of politics came about (FN2007/12/16). The eight women were commenting on the then president, Chen Shui Bien, the

first “real” Taiwanese president. They had supported him when he ran for Taipei city mayor because he was Taiwanese and they believed he would have represented them. Luo commented on how it was such an opportunity for a Taiwanese to shine, only to have him let everyone down. The conversation continued with her friends praising her grandson for joining the Democratic Progressive Party despite its leader because they felt it was very important that the “younger generation” continued the fight for the Taiwanese.

What is seen here is a voting pattern that is based on identity. Chen was considered “Taiwanese” and Luo also considered herself “Taiwanese” therefore she voted for him. The praising of the younger generation for working towards Taiwanese representation also shows a Taiwanese identity in the hopes of continuing Taiwanese presence in the political field.

At another friend’s gathering, with a mixture of Chinese and Taiwanese friends, in April 10, 2008, the discussion about presidential elections arose again. Her attitudes towards choosing candidates based on ethnicity changed (FN2008/04/10). Luo said that nowadays it was better to choose the person rather than the party during these elections. She said that she had supported James Soong and Lien Chan during the 2004 elections even though most Taiwanese had continued to support the DPP candidates. She said, Lien was also Taiwanese and she felt that his Taiwanese ancestors shared her same experiences, even though he was KMT. As for Soong (previous governor general of Taiwan) who was Chinese, she said he had visited enough of Taiwan to understand the voices of the Taiwanese then. In fact, he had given

speeches completely in Tai-yu.

Here, she comments on the backgrounds of the candidates, noting differences, but is able to accept Soong despite his being associated with wanting Chinese reunification. His appeal to her seems to be that he claimed to understand the people of Taiwan and even tried make himself appear as one of them by using Tai-yu for certain speeches. (See Wei 2008 for more information on the use of language in identity politics in Taiwan.) This shows that over time, Luo is easing into a more Taiwanese-Chinese identity in contrast to the past where she firmly believed Taiwanese needed to stand by Taiwanese because that's the only way they could and should be represented. Her perceptions of each group gradually transformed over the years as the social conditions changed.

Luo's experiences of inequality continually propelled her to hold on tightly to her Taiwanese identity for most of her life. However, as time passed, and gaps between differences between the people and the treatments narrowed, her identities started to interconnect. For example, rather than seeing Chinese as "others," she is now able to see the similarities, and consider them or herself as a part of the group/identity and vice versa.

This transformation was also depicted in her last interview on August 6, 2011 when she made this comment:

“Many Taiwanese don't understand that Taiwan has to be part of China now, like Hawaii is part of the United States. We are economically dependent on China. I think within 50 years, we will be part of China

because we are economically dependent, *without them cannot survive.*”(EL2011/08/06)

Now, she is willing to be associated with China, whereas before she was very careful about identifying herself as such except on certain things. She even goes as far as to favour becoming Chinese.

“Big China. I like it. It includes Taiwan. This I’m ok with. Large nations have more strength.” (EL2011/08/06)

Economic reasons, as suggested by her saying “economically dependent, *without them we cannot survive*” and “Large nations have more strength,” may be greater than her actually identifying with the culture and beliefs of the Chinese. What it means now to be Chinese has also changed in her mind. The Chinese are no longer the uneducated aggressors on the island. The gap between the waishengren and the Taiwanese (benshengren) has slowly closed, in areas such as language and education, and one group no longer prominently dominates another group. The cultural differences have been diminished over time and being together in a shared space.

5.2 Education as a Source of Identities

Education, as suggested in chapter 3, influences identity construction and is a common tool used by governments to promote their ideologies and goals (Cornell & Hartmann 1998, Mc Carthy 1998, etc.) (3.2, 3.2.2 & 3.2.2.1.1). Educational experiences significantly played a role in Luo’s identity construction. Both the Japanese and the KMT governments used education and educational institutions as a means for creating a unified identity.

However at times, the actual educational experiences stopped their intentions from being realized.

Japanese Education

Japanese education compelled participants to identify with being Japanese and loving Japan. However, circumstances faced by the Taiwanese made them aware that they were not really part of the so-called Japanese identity. The constant differences allowed for comparison, which then results in different identities being established.

Luo's friend, Dr. Lin, and Luo both mentioned that Japanese education was powerful in making them believe they were Japanese as will be seen from their narratives later, but at the same time, both also commented that despite the education, they were not Japanese.

During the earlier years of education during the Japanese occupation, not everyone attended school and the Japanese did encourage people to attend (2.2.2). The goal was to teach people the new language and to elevate the country's educational level (2.2.2). However, not everyone attended in a timely fashion.

“Missionaries established many schools; sometimes girls' schools and sometimes boys' schools. But because we were Taiwanese, many people didn't go to school, especially if you lived in the country-side. You had to speak Japanese to go to school. That was seventy-nine years ago. In the same class, students would be of different ages because they entered at different times. I remember when I went to boarding school in Tainan, I was the youngest, but I taught some of the older girls

because I had more schooling than them.” (EL2010/02/15)

In the 1930s when Luo attended school, education’s reach was still limited and therefore in some ways limited in their ability to transform all individuals; as Luo states, many Taiwanese still did not attend school. Yet compulsory education was established in 1895 (2.2.2).

Language was important in education. It has been used in hopes of creating national identity as mentioned by Law (2002) and Balsera (2005) amongst other researchers (3.2.2). Luo specifically points to the Japanese language as an expectation of education. In addition, school curricula were very much geared towards the goals of the Japanese government, in that it was hopefully going to transform the younger generations into becoming Japanese citizens (2.2.2).

“At school we studied Japanese history. We were Japanese nationals. We didn’t learn anything about Chinese history. They taught us to love our country, but my mind was clear. I can make Japanese friends but you can’t love the Japanese government.”
(EL2010/02/15)

The curriculum was centred around the national identity and loyalty to the Japan as Luo suggests. She refers to herself as a “Japanese national” and uses “our country” to address Japan in this passage, which suggests she has taken on this identity. However, by noting the lack of Chinese history and suggesting that one “can’t love the Japanese government” she is still holding onto a non-Japanese identity despite the efforts of schooling; she is identifying with a Japanese nationality but not with Japanese citizenship.

Dr. Lin's studies had the same focus on becoming Japanese. Though she felt she was being "brainwash"ed, the teachings of how to be a Japanese citizen including going "against the Chinese", was powerful in its attempt to transform her identity.

"At school we were taught and reminded that we were Japanese citizens. All Japanese citizens love Japan. They would keep suggesting that we go against the Chinese because that's part of being Japanese. They tried to brainwash us and I really believed I was Japanese. For a short time before I graduated from 東京女子醫專 (Tokyo Women's Medical School), I thought maybe after I graduate, I should join the army because Japan had entered Manchuria by then. Do you know Manchuria? Northeast of China. I received Japanese education and I know they colonized us but China is our ancestor and wouldn't consider us a colony! But all the teachings of Japanese spirit- Japanese spirit so for that time, I thought, after I graduate, first choice would be to join the army and be on the frontlines of the war and save people, save some soldiers, because these soldiers were sacrificing themselves for our country. If I could do that, that would be my first choice. Second choice would be to stay and continue studying and do more research."
(L2008/06/06)

Dr. Lin's experiences show that the Japanese education was successful in transforming her identity when she describes the possibility of serving for the Japanese army because they were "sacrificing themselves for our country" and the reference to Japan as "our country". However, she still remembered her Chinese heritage and was not completely able to relinquish it when she comments "China is our ancestor." Her image of the Chinese is one similar to Luo's initially, in which China would consider them as one of their own and "wouldn't consider [Taiwan] a colony" as the Japanese did. It appears the Japanese identity was fleeting, whereas the Chinese identity, linked closely to ancestry lingered.

For Luo, had it not been for the influence of her parents, the Japanese education might have had a more profound effect in converting her identity, though on some level, she did identify with it.

“We received Japanese education. We learned that we are supposed to be loyal to Japan because we are Japanese. When the Japanese emperor was born, I was 15. That year, I even happily held a flag and joined the celebration parade in Tokyo. The royal family had more girls and so when a prince was born, the entire Japanese nation from top to bottom was happy.”(EL2010/02/15)

This passage shows that educational influences were effective to some extent. She celebrated as a “Japanese” with the Japanese. She also notes expectations to be “loyal to Japan” because she is Japanese.

In both Dr. Lin’s and Luo’s narratives in which they discuss possessing a Japanese identity, it should be noted that they were both physically in Japan at the time this identity was displayed and not in Taiwan.

Dr. Lin has commented that in Japan, “I was very happy at school. I had a lot of Japanese friends,” (L2008/06/28) suggesting that she did not feel an intense divide between the Japanese and herself. Luo’s comments also share similar feelings.

“National citizens in Japan were nicer than the Japanese in Taiwan. They did not look down on Taiwanese. In Taiwan, the Japanese thought the Taiwanese were second class citizens and they were high class citizens. We were in their control. Every Japanese in Taiwan had this thought, so there would be fights amongst the Japanese and

Taiwanese ...In Japan, there were 30-40 girls in my class. I was the only Taiwanese. They didn't care if I was Taiwanese or not."
(EL2010/02/15)

It can be suggested that because the differences and hierarchy of the government were not highlighted as much in Japan, the dominant government's identity, of Japanese, was easier to accept to. In the case of Luo, it appears she was treated equally and this for her, was how being Japanese needed to feel like. She was no longer considered a "second class citizen" and her Taiwanese identity was not important to her peers as suggested in the last sentence.

Despite her resistance, which is alluded to in her other stories presented earlier, Luo definitely identified with the Japanese identity and thus celebrated as the Japanese did. However, her father's influences and the intense and continuous inequality she perceived in Taiwan kept her from fully converting, especially when she is in Taiwan.

While in Taiwan, she understood the need to display a Japanese image, as her father did, as a means of coping with circumstances. She knew not to object outright to being Japanese, especially in the presence of the Japanese.

"That was a time of major changes. The Japanese knew that my father and I were educated so they wanted us to change our surnames. We didn't! Because we knew how the Japanese would treat us. Their idea of equality, we could not accept. They told us, 'you are Japanese citizens, why not change to a Japanese surname? You don't love your country?' I said, 'I do love the country but I need to think some more and decide later' to delay it. At that time if you said you don't love your country, you'd be damned! Not love your country? Then you are not Japanese

and no one dared admit they were not Japanese.” (EL2010/02/15)

Luo noted being educated as a reason for the Japanese wanting them to convert their names. This implies that she sees higher education as being associated with that of the dominant or “higher” cultural group, which in this case happened to be Japanese. Education and language acquisition is something that Luo values. It is almost as if she feels this is a means to narrow the gap between one identity and another – in her earlier years, the Japanese and the Taiwanese. On the other hand the suggestion of a change to a Japanese name would begin to undermine the Taiwanese ancestry – which as we saw in earlier chapters (2.2 & 3.1.3) – is a strong factor in ethnicity. The change of name would have reinforced the loyalty to the state and citizenship.

Different Standards of Educational Institutions

Being educated was a valuable asset that was recognized by people regardless of their nationality or ethnicity. The Japanese and the KMT both used it to dominate the Taiwanese and because it was difficult to obtain though offered to everyone (2.2.2 & 2.3.1.1), education could have been seen as a means to narrow the gap between the two groups of people and then created a unified identity.

According to Luo, educational institutions for the Taiwanese were of lower standards than those of Japanese ones. She believed that the Japanese saved the best schools for themselves, including elementary schools. The Japanese government thus supported discrimination amongst the schools (2.2.2).

Again, this idea of inequality made her believe that she was not fully Japanese because integration was not thorough.

“My classmates were all Taiwanese (in Tainan). One or two Japanese attended our schools and only because they couldn’t get into their schools. They were not good enough for their schools.” (EL2007/09/04)

In those days, Japanese children who did not pass the exams for the schools established for the Japanese would be sent to schools established for the local Taiwanese (2.2.2). Reproduction theorists have suggested that schools reproduce hierarchies found in the dominant cultures (3.2.2). In Luo’s situation, this reproduction may not be evident within the school, but rather the separate schools available for the Taiwanese and Japanese. This situation seems to have created a sense of inferiority for Luo but even more importantly it made her aware of the differences between groups.

She also believed there to be unfair practices in the admissions processes and these practices were based on ethnicity, which again, stresses the differences between the different groups. The difficulty for the Taiwanese to receive acceptance into schools, clearly shows the Japanese, though wanting the Taiwanese to identify themselves as Japanese, did not consider them Japanese either.

“Why did I want to go to Tokyo to study? Because Taiwan didn’t have any good schools. They were *stupid* schools. In Taiwan when you apply for college, only twenty percent of Taiwanese can enter the National Taiwan University, all other spaces were given to the Japanese. Even if the Taiwanese got first place or second place on exams, those spaces would be given to the Japanese and the Taiwanese fourth place and

below. National Taiwan University exams could be taken by anyone in Taiwan, but only eight Taiwanese would be accepted. These people were very talented (優秀). If NTU didn't accept them, then they could go to Japan for university. Most of schools in Taiwan not as good then, only NTU was good.” (EL2010/02/15)

As seen here, regardless of abilities, the Japanese would be given priority to top schools and the Taiwanese, even if talented, would be only allotted limited placements. Other schools, were considered by Luo as “stupid” and therefore she needed to go to Japan to attend schools with mostly Japanese students.

Luo's friend, Dr. Lin, also commented on the lower standards of the schools in Taiwan which she felt after she went to Tokyo for medical school.

“My language skills were not as good as the Japanese. I went from Taiwan too. Even the teacher would tell people it's not that I'm not talented but it's because I'm from Taiwan and Taiwan is still a colony even though the Japanese control it. I thought that even if we are top students, in Japan we still lose. The levels are just different; the education we received was different... When I think about it now, the teachers sent from Japan to Taiwan to teach were not very skilled, so we could not catch up... I felt that in Japan. Our academic levels were different.” (L2008/06/06)

She is suggesting that the level of teaching, including that of the national language was subpar to that of the ones for the Japanese. In hindsight, Lin sensed her teachers “were not very skilled” which resulted in different educational standards. This shows their feelings that the Japanese did not treat the Taiwanese equally, even on an educational front, which was also their tool in learning what it meant to be “Japanese”.

It is this difference also that continues the separation of the two groups and the suggestion that Taiwanese are not equals, and not really one of them. This does not exactly go against the Japanese policies (2.2.2) and in it, it creates a “inferior” identity that is attached to the Taiwanese identity, which was also further promoted in government controlled media during KMT times (2.3.1.2).

Luo had finished her education by the time the KMT arrived. Her children were educated under this new leadership in a new language. Therefore, she could not help her children with their schoolwork, because her own abilities in this language were limited.

“My parents was Chinese educated and we became Japanese, so they could not teach us, and we became Japanese... and 1945 I was 26 and grandfather was 29. Japan defeated and Taiwan return to China, Chinese government, Chinese education start. My children go to Chinese school. We didn’t know how to teach them...” (EL2009/12/22)

Her children would need to go through a similar experience to that of hers, having parents who could not assist with language and schooling. The intentions of the governments were to create a cohesive national identity through education (2.2.2 & 2.3.1.1). However, the circumstances surrounding education made it difficult for this to be achieved. The differences between the identities, Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese was prominent and thus the complete relinquishment of a Taiwanese identity difficult. Language also factored in.

5.3 Education as a Source of Language

Using Luo's own words, "Language is part of education. Education includes language, but it is not the only thing. It's not like a specialty like law" (EL2007/10/28). For her, language was a large part of education, because it was a fundamental reason for going to school. Language was an indicator of identity (See 3.5) and historically acquired through schooling (2.2.2, 2.2.3, 2.3.1.1 & 2.3.1.2).

"Taiwanese spoke Tai-yu and Japanese spoke Japanese, but at school, we were forced to learn and speak Japanese. So sure, we learned Japanese in school, but we did not speak it at home. Subsequently our language skills were not as good as the Japanese, but if we didn't learn, then we could not survive." (EL2009/12/22)

Since the national language was not one spoken at home, schools were very important in acquiring it and Luo saw it as absolutely necessary to learn, because it was a means to "survive" in the community. She also recognizes her abilities were not as good as those of the Japanese, distinguishing herself from them once again. The maintenance of Tai-yu at home is also of significance. Her family did not give up the language and it continued to be something that tied them to their Taiwanese identity as well.

When referring to her own children, who were educated during the KMT martial law period, language again, was an important part of education. She carefully selected a school for her two eldest children based on the Mandarin teachings.

“Public (common) schools’ academic levels were lower than that of the elementary schools where most Waishengren children attended. So after asking around, I sent your aunt and dad to their (國語實小) Experimental Elementary School.” (EL2009/12/22)

“When your dad was in kindergarten and elementary school, he was with the Waishengren. Their (the Chinese) Mandarin was better, *higher level*, so I put your dad into that school. Your dad and your older aunt were better students so they could keep up. There were very few Taiwanese students in their school. By the time your younger aunts and uncle went to school, I just sent them to the neighbourhood school because the Mandarin levels of the Taiwanese had improved by then and the schools were fine.” (EL2009/12/22)

Luo has placed an importance as language here as she purposefully selects schools with “higher level” standards for her children. Ager (1992:150) has suggested, “The dominance of one language over another implies a prestige difference and hence a widespread attitude, within the society, of superiority/inferiority, towards/from each of the languages and language groups.” This perception of a “superior” language, could have contributed to Luo’s choices, especially at the initial onset of the new language because the language differences would have been more apparent then. This would be similar to Zhu’s (2010) findings based on his research of Tibetan students in China (52).

For her younger children, they were able to go to neighbourhood schools because the Mandarin levels had “improved” and therefore similar to that of schools attended by Chinese students. It seems language standards are a dividing force rather than an unifying one with the discrepancies in ability which is also suggested by Tse in which he says, “language seemed to be

dividing force rather than an unifying one, increasing the social and psychological distance among the major ethnic groups” (2000: 161).

Therefore, successful language learning is linked to a narrowing of this difference between groups (He 2006).

Luo placed her older children in schools in which there were less Taiwanese with the intention that their Mandarin would be similar to that of native speakers. It is unclear whether she wanted them to identify with the Chinese, but the very fact that her Taiwanese identity remained intact, as suggested when she makes a point of distinguishing “washengren” and referring to them as “they” indicating she recognizes them as a separate group. It is possible her goal was simply to decrease the gaps between the language abilities of her children and that of the Chinese. Her younger children attended neighbourhood because as she indicates the “Mandarin levels... had improved”.

Her choices could have stemmed for the perception that speaking Mandarin with an accent carried with it negative connotations. Tai-yu had presented as the “inferior” language (2.3.1.2) and as Wachman (1994:108) states, “Taiwanese who spoke Mandarin encumbered with a Taiwanese accent felt vulnerable each time they opened their mouths and ashamed that culturally – and perhaps, inherently – they were inferior to Mainlanders.” The unconscious desire for her children to be equals might have been the reason for her choice and not necessarily a display of identity.

5.4 Language as a Source of Identities

Language, however, can be closely tied to identities (3.5) and language policies are used to create new identities and attempt to suppress unwanted ones (Kloter 2006) (3.5) but when forcing a new language where it did not previously exist, may have an opposite affect (Watson 1992). As presented, the national languages of Taiwan changed over the course of Luo's life and though she can speak each national language, her abilities differ. Being able to speak these languages allowed Luo access into different possible cultural circles. These languages, including Tai-yu, which was never a national language, were also a source of identity.

Japanese Occupation

The Japanese language policy of only speaking the national language was strictly enforced. Tai-yu, an element associated with the Taiwanese identity, was forbidden (2.2.3).

“My school in Tainan was majority Taiwanese but we still had to speak Japanese because that was the national language then. If we spoke Tai-yu and the teacher heard, we would be punished by having to write ‘I will not speak Tai-yu again’ on the blackboard. The first time they hear you, you have to write 30times; the second time 60 times, the third time, 120 times and it keeps adding on for every time. If someone does not stop, their parents would be called in. I had to do it before and my hands were so tired!” (EL2010/02/15)

Japanese was the national language from before Luo's birth, however because her first encounters with language was that of Tai-yu at home, Tai-yu would be considered her mother-tongue. Knowing that you need to

speak another language as opposed to what comes naturally as shown in the following quote where she says the language ‘just came out’ – can be an indicator of your identity as well. Luo associated Tai-yu with her Taiwanese identity.

“You know, because we are Taiwanese, it was very natural for us to speak Tai-yu but it was not allowed. One time, I bumped into my friend when walking between our desks and I said, ‘xi le’(excuse me in Tai-yu) and the teacher heard so I had to stand facing the wall (罰站). The words just came out of my mouth. I didn’t mean to speak Tai-yu, but it’s who we are. We could only secretly speak Tai-yu when we were amongst ourselves, but once we stepped onto the school campus, we could only speak the national language (Japanese).” (EL2007/09/04)

Though she recognized that she needed to learn to speak Japanese, Luo still felt at times upset about it because it was a natural language for her. In this quote she also relates language to her identity when she says, “I didn’t mean to speak Tai-yu, but it’s who we are.” Japanese linguistic policies have been argued by Heylan (2005) to actually strengthen Taiwanese cohesion, and this is an example of where the policy may have actually done so.

KMT Rule

When the KMT came into power, the new national language became Mandarin. Again, the Taiwanese were not allowed to speak their native language.

“We always spoke Tai-yu at home and with family members. When we were outside or at the YWCA, I would speak the national language (Mandarin) but for the words I didn’t know, sometimes I would add a few English words.” (2011/08/06)

The adding of English words pertained to communicating with foreigners. Luo was an English major in college. English is more of a pragmatic language than one that carries an identity for her as it is something she “adds” in when she is missing the Mandarin words.

However, Tai-yu is a marker of identity here and distinguished Taiwanese from Chinese identity. Tai-yu was spoken at “home” where we have seen as the place her Taiwanese identity stems from. In public, this language was tucked away as with the identity.

The KMT goal was reunification with China, which they expected would happen in three years, and Tai-yu would not have been necessary (2.3). Concurrently, China, with its many dialects, was also implementing a national language of Mandarin around this time though they referred to it as Putonghua (普通話). Heylan (2005) which directly translated means “common language”. This common language in China, just as in Taiwan, was to create a unified community (Wei 2008, Heylan 2005).

After the lifting of Martial Law

However, over 20 years after the initial lifting of martial law, Luo’s attitudes towards Tai-yu and the Taiwanese identity changes.

“Taiwanese, who cares Taiwanese or what kind of “nese.” The world is so small. We need to know languages that will be widely used. Let me tell you, Tai-yu and Japanese, to be able to understand is enough; no need to study. Focus on what is necessary. Tai-yu? Tai-yu *very little* people speak it. *Chinese language* (Mandarin) and English are languages one must know. If you do business, take airplanes, if you

don't know English, that would be terrible. I'm not afraid of taking airplanes because I can read. I know where to go, and how to ask if I'm lost, and where to sit." (EL2011/08/06)

The connection between language and identity is no longer a focus for her, as shown by her comment, "who cares Taiwanese or what kind of "nese." To be able to compete in current times has come to the forefront of her thoughts. Globalization and readily available information probably have transformed the strong feelings of language being a factor in nationality as well as ethnicity. The need for language is more concerned with economics as opposed to political dominance.

"Must study *Chinese* (Mandarin) should be correct. Think about how large the population of Chinese people is in this world. *Chinese businessmen* are all over this world. Your father has to do business with the Chinese people. How could he do business properly if he didn't know Chinese?" (EL2011/08/06)

Here we can sense that Luo is neither referring to herself as Chinese nor Taiwanese when she refers to the "population of Chinese people in this world" but believes that Mandarin is necessary because of the trends in our world in which China has become an increasing large player in the international area. Lin holds similar views, "... future, still need to know Mandarin. You say, just like this century, an influential China period is soon to come" (L2008/06/28). Both participants view China strengthening and thus Mandarin becoming more essential. Language is no longer linked only to identity, but to economical and practical reasons (3.5) and supported by Hansen's (1999) research in which success in China required an ethnic minority (Naxi and Tai) to adopt the Chinese language and culture. Language

becomes a means of survival and not as much for identification.

I proposed earlier (3.5) that language is closely linked to identity but it can be also linked to realism as seen in Hansen (1999) and in Luo's situation. Dorais' (1995) research on Canadian Inuit language and English, points out that an ethnic language can be one of identity, and another, such as English could be that of practicality. This could be the case here as well. Tai-yu can be thought of as the language related to Luo's ethnic identity, and Mandarin as the language of practicality. However, because Mandarin is also related the Chinese identity, which is at the ultimate origin of most Taiwanese (though maybe more than ten generations prior) of China, the connection might not be as simple as one for economic demands.

The push for languages for other than ethnic reasons is also supported by Li's (2002) research in which English became the preferred language for education amongst Hong Kong parents (3.5). This trend is also similar to the belief that languages lead to more opportunities. Byram's (1992) findings of the Germans of East Belgium working hard to make sure their children are bilingual in both German and French because it would allow for better economic opportunities. Luo has also stated that more languages learned can only benefit the individual – "*The more language you speak, more convenient*. It is easier to travel and communicate with other people" (EL2010/02/15).

5.5 Language and its use with Others

Language may be associated with identities because only those of that particular identity speak it. Taiwanese are probably the only people in world that speak the Tai-yu with people in Fujian, China speaking a language/dialect with some resemblance, as Luo indicated. Tai-yu is not a language that has gained any national recognition, such as English and Mandarin. Therefore, those who speak it can maintain a shared sense of belonging with one another.

It was observed that in intimate settings with close family and friends, Luo always used Tai-yu. This could be a result of history. Or as suggested by Watson (1992:104), “The mother tongue is the most intimate form of language...” and therefore connected with her inner circle. Yu (2010) also found language to carry sentiments of closeness. “When the Naxi hear their language spoken, even by a stranger, they have a feeling of affinity” (Yu 2010:6). Luo’s case is similar. Most of her close friends were also of Taiwanese descent. This could a result of being familiar with the language and the common experiences that resulted from speaking that language.

On one interview visit (Aug.6, 2011), Luo received a phone call inviting her to a lunch party. After she hung up the phone she said to me that she turned it down because it she didn’t have the patience to speak Mandarin. It was tiring for her to speak Mandarin and she also commented that sometimes, when she is not with Taiwanese only in a group, she had to also be careful of what she said (FN2011/08/06). This suggests group differentiation which is similar to what Appel & Muysken (2005) have indicated (3.5).

When speaking to her grandchildren who understood Tai-yu, it would also always be Tai-yu with some English mixed in when she felt they needed more explanation. For her grandchildren who spoke only English, which is a language Luo learned while studying in college, with limited Mandarin and Tai-yu, she would speak English and mix in Tai-yu words. English appears to be a functional language, rather than one adhered to any identity. It is one she used to communicate with mostly foreigners, such as members of the YWCA as mentioned earlier but not a language she prominently discussed in her narratives.

For a granddaughter that understood Japanese, and with her own children, Luo would inject Japanese words (FN 2008/12/21, FN 2008/12/23, FN 2009/01/03). However, Tai-yu would be her first language of choice when speaking to her family; Mandarin with the outside world, and Japanese would be her preferred choice in reading and writing. English was used with foreigners, usually in her involvement with the YWCA worldwide events. These are all results of influences of education and experiences over time.

Luo adopted her language use to accommodate the languages of her grandchildren. This adjustment, as Sandel, Chao & Liang (2006) have indicated in their research, causes the loss of that very ethnic language. Though her grandchildren do not all speak Tai-yu, it does not mean that she does not consider them to of a separate ethnic group. With changes, in the world, identification with ethnic or national identities can still exist without that very language, though it may be more difficult or achieved using other means (Appel & Muysken 2005).

5.6 Conclusion

It is evident that Luo continued throughout her life with the categorizing of self and others, comparing herself to cultural, national, and ethnic groups. Perceptions of prejudice and discrimination strongly influenced her identification process which is similar to Keefe's (1992) findings in her research on Chicanos and Appalachians. Also as discussed in previous chapters, this ongoing process of comparison and validation is necessary for individuals to create an identity (Oaks, Haslam & Turner 1994, Worchel & Coutant 2004, etc.) (3.1.3.1). The social process, which includes receiving validation that she is of a particular group has her identifying with the Japanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese.

We can again, refer back to Pavlenko & Blackledge's (2004) three identities: imposed, assumed, and negotiated (3.1.3). In moments such as being asked to give their resources to the Japanese government for the war, the imposed Japanese identity is one that Luo could not counter. She was a citizen of Japan. During the KMT rule, it was possible to see Luo identifying as Chinese. This is how the government defined her and she did not always oppose it. Lastly the negotiated identity can be seen as she waivers between the Chinese and Taiwanese identity and presents them in different contexts.

Experiences on the whole

The political conditions during Luo's lifetime had a profound effect on her identity construction. Perceptions of prejudice and discrimination were

evident during both the Japanese occupation and KMT rule. Having had governments of people who were obviously different than her made the distinctions between the identities clear.

With changes in the political situation, the identities changed as well. The experiences of different ethnic groups have slowly become similar and in that the differentiation between the identities is no longer as clear and maybe not even as necessary.

Hansen(1999) found that ethnic meanings can change and in the change, “ethnic identity is remade through the reinterpretation of the original content of an external categorization” (306) or in Wei’s words, “Language and ethnic boundaries have now been recalibrated, negotiated and redrawn” (2008: 115). It seems that a definition of the Taiwanese identity has since been adjusted in this way as well. Wang & Liu’s (2004) research on Taiwanese identity found that “half of the island’s residents now carefully distinguish their political identification from their cultural orientation. Acknowledging their Chinese heritage, they identify themselves as Taiwanese politically” (578). Luo seems to now fall under this categorization, though in her earlier years, culturally and politically, her identities were more aligned.

Experiences and language

Social contexts, memberships, interaction with groups, and language use will affect identity (Miller 2000). “The importance of language cannot be underestimated. At the individual level it helps us to express our deepest emotions, personal thoughts and relationships with others at different levels.

At the group level a common language can give a sense of identity, cohesion, sharing a mutual support” (Watson 1992:100). In terms of national identity, a common language can give that sense of “one national community” or “linguistic nationalism” as referred to by Kramsch (1998b:72). The same is true for ethnic identity, especially with the view that language carries with it culture.

The home language of Tai-yu was one of the only consistent elements in Luo’s life. Tai-yu seems to have contributed to her continuously identifying herself as Taiwanese, even after coming into contact with different forms of education and the Japanese, Mandarin, and even the English language. Luo may not have verbalized that Tai-yu was something that relates to her Taiwanese identity, but we can infer this from her narratives. Tai-yu is also the way in which she continues to communicate to her family and close friends.

Tse (1996:15) has found “language as both a means to gain ethnic culture and to strengthen ethnic identification” and though it was not necessarily a means to gain or strengthen her Taiwanese identity, Tai-yu was a means to maintain the Taiwanese identity even if unintentionally. Ager (1992) has suggested that language maintenance is a sign of identity continuation. Through different governments and educational systems, this seems to have been true in the case of Luo. Tai-yu not only held her close to her family and other Taiwanese, but it was also a marker that set her apart from those who did not speak the language. Language can be an indicator of difference between groups (Miller 2000, Keefe 1992, etc.).

The family's role in maintaining this language is important because it is the only place where she would have an opportunity to learn it. Naturally, her other languages of Japanese and Mandarin, also allowed her to identify with and be identified by others as Japanese and Chinese.

Maloof, Rubin & Miller's (2006) research on the role of Vietnamese heritage language schools found that many Vietnamese believe language to be a symbolic sign of an identity. In Luo's life, however, this might have been true for the first half of her life when the new governments imposed new national languages. It was possible to identify people based on their language.

In the latter half of her life, Tai-yu no longer belonged only to the Taiwanese identity. Schools in Taiwan incorporated ethnic language education (See Scott & Tiun 2007 or MOE website for more information). In addition, politicians in Taiwan, both Chinese and Taiwanese, have used ethnic languages to address the citizens (See Wei 2008 for more information) therefore, Tai-yu is no longer an identity marker, but a tool to relate to others. It is harder to base a person's identity now on the ability to speak a language. For example, most Taiwanese children now speak Mandarin because it is the official language of the country and has been for generations now.

Local languages are now considered "highly valued in some ways by the majority of the population, due to arguments related to 'language as a right', political reconciliation, or as a symbol of identity" (Scott & Tiun 2007:68). It is possible to see people take more pride in their national and ethnic

identities, rather than whichever is dictated by any government. This goes alongside changes in attitudes towards ethnic languages of Tai-yu and Hakka, which were once treated as the lower status language (Tse 2000).

However it is also a time in which the ethnic language no longer holds as strong a connection with one's identity since the differences between people and their experiences have lessened as is the situation between the Chinese from Taiwan and the Taiwanese in Taiwan. For many Chinese being of a second or third generation from Taiwan, language may no longer be a strong indicator of a Taiwanese identity in the original sense of Taiwanese. The younger generation's loyalty to the country can be the same regardless of their background and could consider them Taiwanese. Individuals who have shared the history and a common ancestry might possess a different definition for a Taiwanese identity. Therefore it becomes experiences, shared histories and ancestry that separate the groups and not necessarily the language.

Luo's narratives indicate that in her early years, language was a clear indicator of difference between groups and related to the experiences of the people. As the socio-political climate changed, the language difference also slowly decreased, as did the separation of groups. The findings of this research may not fully agree with the theory that language is crucial in identification, but do not actually contradict it either as time has progressed.

Experiences at school

At school in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation during Luo's school years, students knew immediately what ethnicity each other had depending

on what languages they could speak. Those who spoke Tai-yu were Taiwanese. In addition, the Japanese government installed policies, as mentioned in Chapter 2 that benefited the Japanese, therefore Luo continued to be aware of differences between the two groups.

For her own children, under the KMT rule, Mandarin became the national language and that of education. It was very important to her to send her children to schools where the Mandarin was stronger and as she has noted, the differences in language levels eventually levelled off and in that the differences between Taiwanese and Chinese slowly also equalized, especially after the lifting of martial law. Therefore the role of language at school did not become as big an issue in regards to identity. Still waisheng and bensheng children did not mingle as much as they do now.

Educational Ideologies

Education was powerful in influencing individual identities, whether it was through curricula or through the strict enforcement of a national language. Though neither Luo or Lin discussed their coursework in detail, it can still be considered influential because it was at the crux of schooling. It is hard to separate all education, language, and social experiences as they are all intertwined. The experiences of individuals ultimately determine one's identity, but as mentioned previously, this identity is fluid, context-dependent and is not constrained to being singular (3.1).

It seems to me that because education was something that was controlled by a dominating group in the past and the urge to be on the same level as those

people led to a strong desire for further education. Luo believed that education was fundamental for survival in the world and the more education that one possessed, the more opportunities one would have. *“Education you must have. If one does not study there will be no opportunities in the future; no way to better circumstances, no job, and cannot make a living, so must study”*(EL2009/12/22) *“...more educated than easy to get job”* (EL2008/04/04). Education for Luo, in a sense, is about being competitive in society.

However, it seems to have been the means for achieving equality, if not the only means for the narrowing the gap in inequality between different groups in the past. The Japanese had an advantage with schooling, and the KMT had the advantage with language used in schools. For Taiwanese to get ahead in a sense that they were no longer inferior, education was necessary.

Summary

It seems, from the data collected, Luo's stories are consistent with historical conditions and also aligned with theories presented in Chapter 3. Education was used to teach individuals the propaganda of the governments and had influence in manipulating identity.

Familial influences however, as also suggested in chapter 3, withstood external influences in maintaining ethnic identity. Just as Keefe (1992:39) argues, “The family is of course, the first social group in which an individual becomes incorporated, and the parent's ethnic identification and sense of ethnic attachment fostered during childrearing are significant in the

formation of the individual's ethnic group identity.” This was the case for Luo.

Language was definitely related to that of family. The home language was a stable factor throughout the Japanese occupation and KMT rule, therefore can be also considered an identity marker. This concept may not have been as explicitly expressed by Luo as identity's link with territory, ancestry, or passport, but language was an indicator of similarity and difference between the groups.

HE (2006) as referenced in 3.1.2.3 (same quote) states, “As the product of situated social action, identities take on an emergent quality and may shift and recombine, moment by moment, to meet new circumstances” (12). This is also true in the case of Luo and her identities; shifts and changes occur under different conditions.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

This study has been a journey to understand the general concept of identity and the influences of language and education on identity construction by studying the life-history of one woman. From her life-story, narratives were extracted to describe the identities that she held and/or holds, and the stories analyzed in relation to education and language in order to highlight how they may have affected her identity construction. It has been a learning process both on an academic and personal level.

6.1 Summary of Findings

This research started with an intention to look at identities and the roles of language and education, but what transpired is in addition to language and education, family and circumstances or external influences surrounding the individuals also play an important role in the construction of identity, if not a greater role.

Language

Originally, language was included in this study because it was regarded to be associated with culture and a tool for individuals to hold onto and to relate to others as suggested by researchers such as Ager (1992), Hsiao (1997), Law (2002), and Wei (2008). Language is considered one of the shared practices that make up a shared culture (Kramsch 1998, Nunan & Choi 2010, Yu 2010) and therefore important.

Language, from the data collected in this research, did not accentuate cultural meanings that can be associated with language. The attachment of language to cultural aspects such as religious affiliations or other traditional values did not surface from Luo's narratives or from other participants. (This could be a result that the interviewer and the interviewee were from the same background and therefore a mutual understanding of things already existed and thus not further elaborated on by the interviewee.)

Instead, language emerged clearly as an identity marker. Language was a display of identity. It seemed to create a sense of unity amongst those who shared it and as a divider from those who did not. For example, if an individual spoke Tai-yu, the assumption would be that s/he was of Taiwanese descent during the Japanese occupation and earlier years of KMT rule. This same feeling was suggested by Luo's display of language use with others. Lou's language of Tai-yu set her apart from other identities and allowed her to be identified by others as well.

It was not merely because of the inability for speakers of different languages to understand each other that boundaries between groups are created; it is also the context in which the language exists as well that creates the boundaries. Therefore, it is not possible to look at language in isolation apart from its social and cultural context (Miller 2000: 75) and that is one of the reasons that language along with the historical context of the participants needed to be included in this study.

Kramsch (1998b: 13) points out, "If speakers of different languages do not

understand one another, it is not because their languages cannot be mutually translated into one another – which they obviously can, to a certain extent. It is because they don't share the same way of viewing and interpreting events... they don't agree on the meaning and the value of the concepts underlying the word.” It is for this reason, context is important, because it is those experiences that build the shared understanding. Taiwan's language situation is an integral part its history so the historical context was included in this research.

During the time period focused on in this study, both governments implemented new national languages unfamiliar to the existing and majority population. Other countries such as India, Indonesia, Africa, and Catalan in Spain have encountered similar multilingual education situations as well (See Clots-Figueras & Masella 2013, Anderson 1991, Watson 1992, Balsera 2005). This implementation of language, along with what it means to be loyal citizens was encouraged through education.

Education

Education can have a significant role in shaping identities as well. It was also included in this study because of an assumption that education moulds individuals and is often used by colonizers to change people. Taiwan was a colony of Japan and though the KMT never declared Taiwan as a colony, they treated Taiwan as such. What usually happens in colonial expansions is that racial differences are highlighted. However, as previously noted, education's goals may have the opposite effect it intends to. My research was not the only one which showed this.

Matthews & Jenkins (1999) began their research by studying role of schooling on Maori girls from parts of New Zealand, concentrating on the assimilation and retention of the Maori identity. What they found is that, “(e)ducation policies for Maori were to reflect settler views about what non-European populations should be taught in order to better bring them into line with accepted European societal norms”(Matthews & Jenkins: 340). Similarly, the Japanese and KMT educational policies reflected their views on what the Taiwanese population needed.

Additionally, English in New Zealand was taught in schools in order for schools to receive subsidy and native Maori language discouraged as well as belief systems. In addition to a curriculum similar to middle class English Victorian girls in boarding schools, the Maori girls still had to do domestic duties. “This means that for the Maori girls, ‘valued knowledge’ was defined as domestic knowledge, the kind needed to run Pakeha-style homes while their Maori men, defined as breadwinners, would be employed in full-time paid work of the kind that would similarly reflect their lower position in the class structure” (Matthews & Jenkins 1999: 342).

The curricula and policies established by the Japanese and the KMT in education and language were similar in that they were about defining the Taiwanese in society. Heylan (2005) points out that the Japanese did not want too large a colonial elite group, nor did they want educated unemployed therefore fields of study the Taiwanese could take was restricted, which led to limited resources and facilities offered to the Taiwanese in Taiwan. Luo

also mentioned discrepancies in her narratives regarding her educational experiences. Policies determined the levels of education and positions that the Taiwanese could obtain which often left the Taiwanese in lower positions of the class structure as well.

Colonial governments educating the colonized to be more like them or to be more useful to them is not new concept and considerably typical. Both new governments in Taiwan held similar agendas. The Japanese and the KMT also introduced a new language and hoped, with the introduction of a new language, the exclusion of Taiwanese history and other related subjects, and an inclusion of subjects aimed at creating “loyalty” a unified identity would be created, but the short-termed success was limited. Hansen’s (1999) study on the Naxi and Tai groups in China also found that if there is a disregard for a minority’s language, history, religions and cultural value, it can also have this very opposite effect. It can in fact strengthen the ethnic identification (Hansen 1999) which is what can be seen in Luo’s case.

Educational influences, in terms of schooling, seemed to have a limited affect in conditioning Luo. In Matthews & Jenkins’ (1999) study, they also concluded that the Maori women retained their Maori identity. In some ways, it is similar to what Zhu (2007) found in his research on state schooling and ethnic identity of the Tibetan Neidi secondary schools in China. The Tibetans remained Tibetans. Luo’s Taiwanese identity remained intact as well.

Maloof, Rubin & Miller (2006) in their study of Vietnamese heritage schools noted that language competency was linked to cultural identity; however,

heritage schooling may have increased proficiency in the language but did not necessarily have a greater impact on the cultural identity. What mattered more was the influence of family and the age of arrival in the United States (Maloof, Rubin & Miller 2006). He's (2006) study which looked at Chinese as a Heritage language and Chik's (2010) exploration are two papers that suggest identity is more strongly linked to ancestry, which is related to family. Likewise, the influence of family, which remained consistent throughout Luo's life, seemed to play a more critical role in her identity construction, which can be considered similar to Maloof, Rubin & Miller's (2006) and He's (2006) findings despite their study being concentrated on a heritage language school or the development of Chinese as a heritage language.

In colonial situations, "education was very much about establishing the presence and absence of confidence in those controlling and those controlled" (Mangan 1990:6 as reference in Matthews & Jenkins 1999:340). This tension between the controlled and controlling was also seen in the admissions practices of schooling during the Japanese occupation which left lasting impressions on Luo. She found them to be unfair. During the KMT rule, though educational practices were not considered "unequal" as those of the Japanese occupation, but the language abilities in schools differed initially. The impact of this on identity, however, is hard to determine since Luo had completed her schooling by then. Then again, in the earlier years of KMT rule, the two groups (KMT and Taiwanese) remained split. This could be considered an external force, which I found to have a lot of influence on identity because it vividly projects similarities and differences such as ones which Luo's narratives have shown and have been touched upon in Chapter 5.

This influence of external forces will be revisited later in this chapter.

Family

Family's influences even seemed to prevail over that of educational influences in relation to the shaping of identity according to my findings. Berger & Luckmann (1966) suggested primary socialization to be crucial. Yu's (2010) study on Naxi students learning to become Chinese and Appel & Muysken's (2005) research on language contact and bilingualism are among the studies that support the view that family influence is pivotal in identity construction.

In Luo's case, familial influences helped her create and maintain identities. Her identification with being Taiwanese was related to family and this Taiwanese identity was maintained throughout her life. Even when additional identities were added to her compilation of identities, her Taiwanese identity remained stable. Familial influence contributed to this. Her father's maintenance of his Taiwanese identity can be considered an influence as well as the maintaining of Tai-yu as the home language. The family's influence seemed to persist despite social pressures. However, it is difficult to separate the social conditions of the time with family, but as previously stated, identities are context-dependent, and therefore identities cannot be considered without some relation to context.

Familial influence emerged as an influential role, not just in the acquisition of education and language, but in identity construction also from Luo's narratives. There were fleeting moments in which Luo expressed her

Japanese identity, but the identity did not extend over time as has been shown in Chapter 5. Her Chinese identity wove in and out of her life. She recognized it initially as she had been taught they were her ancestors, which she learned early on from her family; but soon after the arrival of the KMT, she detached herself from that identity based on how different they appeared to be from what she visualized herself to be and what she thought they were to be. Much of what she pictured was based on an image painted by her family.

Then as the years passed and socio-political situations changed, she identified with the Chinese identity again. The role of family took on a slightly different approach. This shift in the acceptance of different identities over time correlated with the conditions of the times. This combination of education with social changes in Taiwan, including globalization and democratization is considered by Law (2002) to be inseparable and seemingly true in Luo's case.

External Forces/Context

Social circumstance continued to emerge as an additional and critical player in identity construction from the data. The situation an individual encounters can both sway an individual towards identifying with one group over another. At the same time, the circumstances place the person into certain positions in relation to various groups as well because of how others view him.

Hsiau's (1997) study on language politics in Taiwan regards Taiwan's political situation to be most influential on the development of local

languages. Scott & Tiun (2007) also tried to illustrate the complex relationship between economic and global issues (and language) on ethnic and national identity in Taiwan. Wang & Liu's (2004) study on identities in Taiwan suggests that the political situation in Taiwan provided a "shared living experience" (571) which speakers of Tai-yu encountered. My findings would be aligned with their arguments – context is important when considering identity construction.

As mentioned previously in Chapter 3, it is when there is a struggle for resource that identities matter (Dorais 1995). It's the inequality that leads to identification, whether it's how an individual defines himself or how others position him. This is evident when new governments overtake existing ones as there is usually a vying for resources and a need to establish authority therefore a necessity for differentiation. In the case of Taiwan, it was probably more visible because the governments were not of the same ethnic group as that of the locals.

6.2 In relation to some other studies

A wealth of information has been published on identity, language and education. It is possible to keep reading nonstop. Therefore a conscious decision was made to include research directly or peripherally related to my study, such as ones but obviously not limited to ones that looked at language and identity (Appel & Muysken 2005, Miller 2000, He 2006, Dorais 1995, Ros i Solé 2004, etc.), education and identity (Lawuyi 1990, Zhu 2007, Yu 2010, etc.), and identity and Taiwan (Hsiau 1997, Heylan 2005, Dittmer 2004,

etc.).

I wanted to look at the impact of language and education on identity and how these factors came into play. Therefore I first needed to extract Luo's identities. Then look at their relation to education and language. Many studies are similar to what I set out to do, but I have not yet come across a research that was exactly same in its approach and focus. I did, however, read many studies conducted with either similar methods, participant groups, or focus and though some have been shared already, below are a few, presented more in-depth.

Wei's (1994) study on Chinese immigrant families in Britain was conceptually similar to my research because it was looking at a single family experience, two different languages over three generations. My original thesis proposal was to do three generations of a family, however circumstances changed and this was not possible.

The scope of Wei's research is much larger, covering 58 speakers from ten Tyneside Chinese families. In the first part of Wei's (1994) research, Wei noticed generational cohesion in their language shifts and perceptions. The first generation spoke less English and had stronger ties with the Chinese community. The second generation used English as a means for more economic reasons, and had fewer attachments to non-Chinese circles. The third generation, on the other hand, used English in all forms of communication and did not sense it was only work related and therefore also within their circles of friends included non-Chinese members. From the study,

Wei developed a Social Network Theory and from it we can deduce that social conditions played a key role in determining language use and therefore relationships with various groups. Though my research did not include three generations of participants, it did cover the span of three generations. Within Luo's own lifetime, her shifts can be seen as going through the same shifts as the generational shift presented by Wei.

Miller's (2000) ethnographic study of language use of migrant students to Australia reached similar conclusions. Through observations and listening to student language use, she was able to determine how students were situated socially and culturally. Miller found that how individuals spoke amongst themselves is related to how they are spoken to and spoken about, which again shows the importance of the social situation. Though, Luo was not a migrant or experiencing the same social conditions as Miller's participants, Luo did also exhibit identities according to social expectations. An example would be calling herself Japanese in public arenas.

Another study that was referenced because it shares some similarities with my research is Sandel, Chao & Liang's (2006) study of language shift and language accommodation in bilingual families. Sandel, Chao & Liang's (2006) research scope was quite large. They interviewed 58 parents living in both rural and urban parts of Taiwan as well as children enrolled in ethnic, otherwise referred to as "mother-tongue" classes and analyzed the data both quantitatively and qualitatively noting differences between those living in rural areas versus urban locations. They noted a faster shift from Tai-yu to Mandarin from parents in urban areas than rural areas. This could have been

because rural parents linked Taiwan identity with the Tai-yu language and urban parents did not (Sandel, Chao & Liang 2006). Luo spent much of her life in Southern Taiwan and only moved to Taipei around the time of high school but not enough data was collected from her to exactly correlate with Sandel, Chao & Liang's (2006) research, although there are points that can be related.

Sandel, Chao & Liang (2006) also argued that one effect of globalization is language loss. This was also briefly touched upon in observations of Luo in which she spoke different languages to her grandchildren. Sandel, Chao & Liang (2006) notes the generational use of language among families attributed to language loss and retention. What they notice is similar to what is seen in Luo's family in more recent times. In the past, Tai-yu was spoken to everyone, but with globalization, more of her grandchildren no longer speak Tai-yu and she accommodates their language needs, therefore there is a loss of the ethnic language.

Another similar research in that she looked at identity is that of Keefe's (2002) research on the ethnic identity of Chicanos and Appalachian in the United States. However, in contrast to Sandel, Chao & Liang (2006), Keefe did not find urban or rural residence to have any significant variation on ethnic identity. Yet Keefe does note that "ethnic identity can change over an individual's life time as well as in response to different situation contexts" (2002:43).

I have also tried to present an idea that education is not neutral and always

carries with it an agenda. There is always a dominating influence in regards to education, it is never pure and simple and one would imagine education to be. In Lawuyi's (1990) study of the educational politics in Nigeria, Lawyui (1990: 230) found education to be closely related to ethnic identity, statism, social class and religion. Educated students also tended to be closer to their own ethnic and social groups. In addition, as suggested earlier, Lawuyi found language to be an identity marker. My research was not large enough in scope to depict any contrast between the educated and uneducated students, Luo being considered educated.

Overall, I believe that my research findings were aligned with other researchers conducted on similar topics but obviously the scope of my research is different, though the depth may have been more detailed since it looked at the life history of one individual.

6.3 Limitations to the Study

With every research, there will be limitations to the study. I believe that my study has answered my research questions or at least provided me with a fundamental understanding to go on. I do have a better understanding of what identity involves and the possible relationships between language, education and identity- but it also raises more questions such as those mentioned in the next section.

Scope and transferability of study

The scope of this study is small but was what could be managed by the

researcher at the given time. A more comprehensive study could have been conducted with a wider range of participants. Interviews with more participants who lived through the same time periods could have provided stronger evidence for the findings. Increasing the number of interviewees and looking for patterns common to all of them would have begun the process of generalisation of the findings to the particular context and situation of Taiwan over the period involved. This remains the narrative of one person but has provided new insights which could be taken up and verified or improved in further studies of other generations in Taiwan. On the other hand cases like this one add to the body of knowledge of empirical cases from which further theoretical insights arise.

Comparisons between participants that lived predominantly in the southern part of Taiwan, who still speak limited amounts of Mandarin with those, like Luo, who lived in the city would have also provided more concrete findings whether the experiences were similar and the results on identity similar. By doing this, a possible causal factor could be reduced.

In addition, it would have been interesting to gather more information specifically on Luo and her counterparts' lives in Japan and contrast that with their lives in Taiwan. This could have allowed more insight into identity when the distinctions of education and social context are compared. The issues of language and family would seem to take on a secondary role in this situation and could lend to more information on the role of education.

Lastly, a generational look at the identities held, the roles of education and

language, would have provided a more complete picture of the relationships. Keefe (1992) found variations in ethnic identity a possibility within single families. This correlates with Wei's (1994) findings. An increase over participants over time would also present better evidence whether prolonged contact to languages can create more identification with groups, as Clots-Figueras and Masella (2013) suggest in their findings when they noticed that more exposure to Catalan, increased likelihood that individuals would identify with the Catalan identity.

Memory of the Participants

The participants interviewed were all in their 80s when they were interviewed and therefore their memory would not be as sharp as in their earlier years. Despite the issues surrounding memory, what is relayed from memory is important as mentioned previously (4.8.1). In separate interviews, Luo would occasionally retell the same stories. This proved to be positive because the stories remained consistent though more questioning was occasionally needed to encourage more information.

Role of the Researcher

My dual position of being a researcher and Luo's granddaughter meant that though I had easy access to her stories and a prior relationship with her, I could have very well been tainted. This advantage of familiarity could have also been a disadvantage in that preconceived notions on both the researcher and the participants could potentially have affected my process.

Being aware of this possibility, I tried to take on a perspective of a stranger

when I went to meet her for interviews and reduced the amount of chit chat before and afterwards. At anytime I felt that the participant's comments assumed I had prior knowledge, I would also ask for clarification, but this was not often. If I heard information that contradicted what I had heard as a child, I would either keep quiet or let her continue or ask for clarification as well. As the interview went on, the distancing became easier.

In observational situations, I would also physically move myself so that I was not "included" and was able to observe more as an observer rather than as a participant. The observations were not much used in the findings because the desire was for Luo's stories to be expressed in her own voice as much as possible. The observations were thus no more than a potential triangulation of the data from interviews although this proved mostly irrelevant as the focus was always on past actions and stories not the present.

I also consciously tried to distance myself from Luo, especially when analyzing her transcripts. Original tapes of the interviews were listened to and checked for accurate transcriptions by another researcher in Taiwan. After the narratives had been selected to be included into this research, they were again checked by this researcher to ensure that the meanings were appropriate. The participants were also given the opportunity to look at the materials for the findings and make additional comments or express any objections, though they did not live to see the final presentation.

A few of Luo's stories had been told to reporters throughout her lifetime and did not vary from what was told to me as it was reported by them. This

allowed for one kind of triangulation. It was also in this same urge for objectivity that I refer to her as Luo in the thesis as opposed to my grandmother, in order to create some distance.

The advantages are beneficial too, as when the participants are sharing their life story, they are not inhibited and the information not masked because of any need to portray an image. The information received is what they truly believe, although as mentioned earlier there is always the effect of memory. However, the possibility of bias, because of previous relationships exists, and can be considered a limitation to some.

6.4 Reflection

I embarked on this research with very little knowledge. I started with researching methodology. In it I found that without any real knowledge of the topic of identity, it was best that I just start from the very basic points and proceed with caution. Slowly theories were induced. The ethnographic approach was appropriate as well in that from this, the participant's full story was shared. A life story approach was able to present a more complete picture in which the entire life and the changes and experiences were presented from which I could reach some conclusions regarding education and language influences on identity. This approach seemed more insightful because the open-ended questions allowed for more information in which the participant did not feel there was a specific question that needed to be answered.

6.5 Ending Remark

We all belong to “imagined communities” because it is what makes us feel that we are part of any given group in which we have people that we can identify with. Individuals need to have that sense of “belonging” which is based on our own definitions as well as how others define us. Our “definitions” of what it means to be of a certain nationality or ethnicity can change over time, just as our identities can change over time. Internal and external influences will contribute to these changes.

In the past, it may have been necessary to speak an ethnic language to be considered part of that ethnic group, but nowadays, because of globalization, economic demands and practicality, it may not be as necessary anymore. There is “not always a one-to-one relationship between language and ethnic identity” (Appel & Muysken 2005:14) just as seen in India (Apte 1979 as referenced in Appel & Muysken 2005) or by Chik (2010) and Choi’s (2010) pieces, or as suggested by Dorais (1995) on his study of the Canadian Inuit or Clots-Figueras & Masella’s (2013) findings in Spain.

In addition, with globalization, it becomes common for individuals to learn additional languages. These languages allow for the possibility of different identities to be constructed, including but not limited to national identities, ethnic identities, language identities as suggested by researchers such as Christison (2010) or dual social identities as suggested by Liu (2010), the role of language is important.

However, in terms of being a part of a nation, the language is still an important factor. As presented in previous chapters, it is a means for creating a form of unity, in hopes of creating that very sense of community. Yet, for those who wish to identify with a “nation” or ethnic group, but do not speak the language, they can still base their identity on other factors. Ancestry and history can be quite compelling factors as presented in Chapter 3. Whether it is from personal experience or the incorporation of what has been referred to as “group self identity” these perceptions can allow an individual to create an identification with any particular group.

With respect to language, individuals may believe without the very language associated with a group, they cannot fully “belong” to that group, but in essence, they can find other means to relate to the group. For some, a hyphenated descriptor, suits them better when identifying with more than one cultural group simultaneously. (See Choi 2010, Chik 2010). The reality is, “(l)anguage and identity are responsive to external and internal changes over time”(Christison 2010: 80), and as Nunan puts it “Our identities shift according to the company we keep and the languages we speak” (2010: 182).

Language will continue to play an important role, not just for communication within a group but also because it carries with it symbolic meaning (Fishman 1994). He (2006) finds many individuals return to study their heritage language because of its association with their cultural heritage. The symbolic significance of the language is why it is being learned in complementary schools (Creese, Bhatt & Martin 2006) around the world and why later generations of immigrants have turned back towards learning the ethnic

language as suggested by He (2006) as well as in Taiwan as presented by Scott & Tiun (2007).

The current climate in Taiwan is reflected in the change in Luo's views and acceptance of "one China". China has increasingly become a stronger nation globally and gained more recognition from countries which previously recognized Taiwan. Taiwan's increased economic dependency on China is also evident. Therefore, though Taiwan and China do not agree politically, a co-existing relationship has been developed and the ties are undeniable.

Luo's language abilities allowed her to bond with her grandchildren, travel the world, and participate in international activities. Simultaneously, this ability contributed to the lack of necessity for her grandchildren to learn the ethnic language. Yet the world has changed since her times and circumstances vastly different.

In regards to my own child, which is why and where this research began, she now lives in Hong Kong that speaks a language (Cantonese) foreign to her, is schooled in English and Mandarin, yet there is no demand that she learn the local language even though many of her friends speak it. Since the 1997 handover of Hong Kong to China, Hong Kong has adopted a Biliterate and Trilingual Policy, in which the official languages are Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin) and English. Before the handover, while it was still a British colony, the official languages were English and Cantonese. The influence of China has made in the necessity of Mandarin a necessity and popular as well. For my daughter to survive linguistically and politically, the languages she

learns at school are sufficient and also happen to be the languages of the home. In many ways, she has it easier than her great-grandmother. However, it is difficult to predict and make comparisons of someone her age with her great-grandmother who lived through major political changes; major political events are unpredictable

I have learned from my research that familial influences are critical. Culture and identity are difficult to separate (Nunan 2010) and when language is mixed in, it all becomes even more complicated regardless of educational influences. With or without a language, wherever my daughter's educational experiences may take her, as her mother, I know that I can influence her perceptions. As she grows, she will need to determine her identity and position herself, where she belongs based on situations she comes across just as Luo's experiences influenced her. She will have the ability to navigate through her world by using her "international" education and language abilities; and though living in an international environment, will have the opportunity to discover who she is without the political definitions and expectations of a ruling regime.

This study will become part of our family history and may be of value to my daughter in helping her decide with more knowledge of her great-grandmother. Luo's experiences were instrumental in her identification and for my own daughter, her experiences with language and education will play a role in the identification process as well— her peers will also influence her. I now recognize the impact of Luo's experiences on my own development and am now more aware of who I am and can possibly

identify experiences which have contributed. It is comforting to know, that family still has a say in one's identity construction, if this study is any indication of that.

Appendix A - Consent Form Sample:

Research Title: Language, Identity and Schooling of Three Generations –
What does it mean for the Fourth Generation?

Researcher: G. Lee

The research I am conducting it to gather data for my thesis which will be submitted for my Doctorate in Education at the University of Durham. The objective of this study would be to look at the life histories of women from different Taiwanese families and seek decision making moments with regard to self identification, education, and language. Identifying the turning points, incidences that lead to ideas of education, self and language could shed light on how a family can and does make decisions and how these individuals were influenced by their language and education. Optimistically the study will enable us to have access into cognitive culture, whether specific to a minute group or that of a larger one.

Interviews will be carried out over several months and you will be asked to share your experiences and feelings throughout different time periods in your life. The interviews will be tape-recorded and later transcribed. The researcher and you will have access to the transcripts, which will be destroyed after the completion of the thesis. Participation in this study is entire voluntary and you may withdraw at any time.

(THIS IS CALLED INFORMED CONSENT – A PHRASE YOU SHOULD ENSURE YOU KNOW AND UNDERSTAND)

This is to confirm that I, _____ agree to participate in the above study and be available for in-depth interviews.

I understand that the interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed.

I understand that I will have access to this information.

I understand that my identity will be revealed and consent to this.

I understand that I am free to refuse to answer any question and may withdraw from the research at any time.

Signature of Participant

Date

Appendix B – Dates of Interviews and Observations

Luo Interviews

Interview Date am/pm	Interview Location	Approximate Length of Interview
September 4, 2007 pm	Luo House	55 mins
October 14, 2007 pm	Luo House	65 mins
October 28, 2007 pm	Luo House	50 mins
April 4, 2008 pm	Luo House	75 mins
December 22, 2009 pm	Luo House	60 mins
February 15, 2010 pm	Luo House	45 mins
June 23, 2010 am	Luo House	50 mins
July 7, 2010 am	Luo House	50 mins
August 6, 2011 pm	Luo House	70 mins

Luo (formal) Observations

Observation Date am/pm	Location/Setting	
December 16, 2007 pm	Wang Y.C. house /lunch	Gathering of Luo's friends
December 21, 2008	Luo House	Relatives Visiting
December 23, 2008 pm	Shin Yeh Restaurant/dinner	Family dinner
January 3, 2009 pm	Regent Hotel/ lunch	Family lunch
April 10, 2010 pm	Luo House	Gathering of Luo's friends

Lin Interview

Dates am/pm	Location	Approximate length
June 6, 2008 am	Lin's son's house	90 mins
June 28, 2009 pm	Lin's son's house	90 mins

Additional Interviews (Pilot and excluded from thesis)

Participant	Date am/pm	Location	Approximate length
Lee	September 5, 2007 am	Lee house	80 mins
Lee	September 10, 2007 am	Lee house	90 mins
Lam	August 4, 2009 am	Lam house	90mins
Lam	August 4, 2010 pm	Lam house	100mins

Appendix C – Sample of Transcript (excerpt) with translation of selected paragraph for use in thesis

EL2008/04/04 -Luo Interview (TAIWANESE, MANDARIN, ENGLISH)

Researcher: 請講你的故事

LUO: 我跟你說, 我是在日本時代 1919, 日本時代 SHODUK, TENJI, 現在天王的阿公的時間 DAIJEN 5 年 阿 DAIJEN 8 年 出生的. 我們的主父就很有錢人啦 SO 我們的房是 Y NE A NE. A NE 中間是大庭

Researcher: 像個 U

Luo: 對對對 A NE A NE A NE A 著中間是大庭阿前面又是大庭阿後面一邊全都是廠庫... RICE 阿這邊後面一排都是傭人 Y這邊一排是養豬 Y這邊在過去是菜園和甘蔗和個說玉米 CORN 玉米番薯通通有那是給豬養豬要用的. 連葡萄嘛有又, Y GO 這邊夠在 因為我主父是大地主 SO 地不知道多少多少 ACRE 水果, 台灣的水果沒有一樣沒有 Y我出生我都ㄟ記在樹上拔水果吃,沒有在吃飯啦. 楊桃拔的到的或是用 too eh, 芒果就 too 下來, 吃到飽再去洗嘴的. Y都沒有人管. Y我跟你說因為我們老母我們老爸我記得我老爸就去美國就不在家裡.

Researcher: 他那麼早就去美國了.

Luo: 我老爸是有錢人 就是 1920 年代 22 到 26 就在美國 UPenn, U Penn 碩士呢 還有去世界一游 去英國 去德國玩(sen)回(den)來. 大家(da ey)都叫他 JAPANESE PRINCE 呢 因為我們那時候是日本人護照的 日本管的 日本國名 Y Y我們老爸願意花錢 都交日本的總督最高的 Y那些 回去都是要競選國會議員 Y競選就要花錢嗎 我父親會幫他們競選 我父親 1920 年到 UP 日本總督第二大給他 make the paper 出去的. 那時候沒有總督 普通台灣人是不能出去 Y. 你要想(gon he)是已經 80 年前的事情. 現在已經 2000 多年了 1920 年代. 他台灣念完有去日本 Meiji 大學 跟你台南阿公一樣 之後他說他家有錢他要去美國阿. 我們家就是我說的我老母就 boyen 我老爸的, 我老爸的財產都是我老母在(de)管的. 阿家裡請了一大堆 以前便宜便宜 (shok shok) 古早我們 我們 我們就有 土地 人家種田 Y一起分 種田種出來 像 100 斤我 50 斤 Y你 50 斤. 你是勞工 Y我是 付說跟我提供土地讓你用. Y這貨(chek)就是放在倉庫 Y人牛車啦 那牛車來 一車一車載去

賣給家族雜貨店 Y所以古早人生女兒生很多 Y都是女兒差不多 10 歲 11 2 歲就送到我們家. 說到我们家吃飯不用錢. Y在他們家多人吃飯. (slight laughter) 所以我們家 11 -2 歲的女孩有 4, 5 個 隨叫來叫去. 都可以叫. Y他就是來我们家就是我們家房間很多, 和我老爸又信基督教的 那個 missionary 到台灣來就房給他住又給他飯吃. Y missionary 下午 晚上就給我們的請的 (helpers) 教書 教學. Y這些 又沒去日本學校又會講日本話 就是這樣 我們的 請的 以後要結婚 都有那個那個 kan kan.. government office 的 officer 要娶我們家裡的這些女孩子. 和我老母有規矩阿 較乖 較會 serve 較認識禮俗 so 我們鄉鎮都女孩子送來. Y我們家我就是皇帝. 那邊都是我的軍隊. 我喊來喊去 就給我做什麼(sa)做(sa). 還不是, 我們家在種鳳梨田 我菜刀拿了一棵拿著 切頭吃一口 丟掉 又切頭 丟掉 尾都沒吃. 這樣長大的. Y 10 歲的時候 我的媽媽 cancer. 那個說 肝. Liver. Liver cancer pass away. 我父親從日本請那個東京帝國大學的 professor 到台灣來因為那時候 7, 80 年前看病看不出來. 他那個看了講那 cancer 沒救. 我母親 pass away, 我父親說從美國回來他要辦報紙 他說我們台灣人給日本壓 都沒有 voice 所以他說他有財產要拿出來辦報紙. Y我的妹妹只有 5 歲送去我外婆家裡. 我外婆家裡有小學. 到那裡去上學就好. Y我 10 歲了國民小學 4 年級. 我父親就跟那個蔡 de ho 先生 台南人 好朋友商量好 他說 eh 送來台南 有長老教會 就是 Presbyterian church school. 有 dormitory Y我跟我老爸說那要掃地我不要. 還有 heh 吃壞的我吃不下. 我老爸說那不是問題我來交涉, 就拜託這個蔡先生, 我們國民黨去跟神導師 是英國派來的校長

沒啦. 國語教書但是他是 church school. Christian principal. 要做禮拜還要 bible class. Bible study. 一個禮拜一次一定要有 hieah. Y那時候台灣女孩很多都沒念書. So 我小學 4 年級去只有我 10 歲剩下都 14, 15, 13 歲 他就是 鼓勵鼓勵有錢人但是女兒沒有去上學叫他們念 Y 不管你幾歲你只要考試可上(diaow)就讓你上初中一年級二年級 一直上去 要鼓勵多的女孩子念書啦. 這個 purpose.

我 10 歲都比它那裡的會(gao3) 他們的數學笨蛋 都是我教的. Y我以前念書什麼考試都不怕的. 我的父親跟學校 agreement 別人不能出去只有我下午 3 點去我的 uncle 蔡 deh Ho 家裡吃點心 買點心 帶回來. 要不然我不要念要逃走回來. (laughter) Y我老爸想我人沒有乖乖他就麻煩了. 他要在台北辦報紙. 他有時候就會來看我.) 我 account 3 字就我爸爸的管錢的就會匯錢給我. 但是那錢進去 不是可能拿出來的. 學校里裡面的 account. 今天禮拜 3 Y你禮拜六要去看電影要去買東西 要寫下來. Y學校的管帳的就給你多少錢. 阿 你自己不可以出去 要多你幾歲 要 3 個

才可以.怕我不見(*pang keng*) 去被綁票. *Y ne* 過 過到有一年 我父親要去日本 我就說讓我跟讓我跟.。

Researcher: 你會講日文?

Luo: 會 *Y* 學校媽都是講日文 講話, 念書

Researcher: 都是日本話? *Ohhh...*

Luo: You go to school, you enter the school, you are not allowed to speak Taiwan

Translation of Section for use in thesis

At that time everyone called him (Luo's father), 'Japanese prince' because our family held a Japanese passport, were Japanese nationals, and Japanese citizens. My father liked to spend his money and many of his friends were high officials in the Japanese government including the governor. In 1920 when my father went to the US for his masters, the second highest Japanese governor *make the paper* approved his application to go abroad. Back then if you did not have the proper papers from the Japanese government, Taiwanese could not go abroad. Just imagine that was more than 80 years ago." (EL2008/04/04)

Appendix D – Sample of Transcript with note-taking and fieldnote

EL2011/08/06

R: 啊所以全部都去, 所以, 你是感覺講要去美國讀書是...你是感覺講去美國讀書時因為...

EL: 去讀書是將來 more chance 啦, more opportunity, 你要做啥, 才不會 (vei), 才不會 (vei) 落伍啦, 才不會 (vei) no update, 啊我們 (lan) 厝內有錢阿, 啊所以啊沒在怕公, 美國讀書沒, 不用, 沒煩惱錢公要從那 (dida) 來啊, 阿公賺錢有夠啊。

R: 喔 (hio)

EL: 恩

R: 你感覺公天天要唸什麼書?

EL: 啊 (ha-n?)

R: 你感覺公天天要唸什麼書?

EL: 這個就要 (兜愛) 讀, 中國學校要讀 ga 六年, 才會讀, 像阿 vi 安ㄟ, Howard ㄟ, 浩娃現在中文看得 (ei) 來啊, 和 (ga) 恁有沒, 耀洲耀文啊, 啊你現在十幾歲才來唸中文, 像你安ㄟ 讀不 (vie) 來阿,

R: hen 啊, 辛苦。

EL: 所以, 這個就來讀這個, 英文兜夢跟他講 (voeng ga yi gueng), 我們在講英文, 啊讓她去唸中文學校, 中文學校讀六年出來吼, 嘿報紙會看, 文章會看,

R: 我嘛會啊,

EL: 你會看, 兜

R: 不會寫, 我會打。

EL: 就是啊, 會看不會寫阿, 和我同款啊, [★] ~~不管是不是~~ ~~taunt~~

R: hen, 啊但是臺灣郎啊...

EL: 臺灣郎, 管太伊臺灣郎什麼郎, 現在世界這麼小 (jia sei ei a) 那嘿 hi lay, 世界通用的語言攏要會啦。我 ga 你講喔, 台語和日文, 嘿是會聽兜好啊, 不必要學, 挑工要緊, 台語, 台語 very little people 講(gong), Chinese language 和英文攏要會, 你做貿易做啥, 坐飛零機, 你那不會英文, 你就 (兜) 壞啊, 我不怕(giang) 坐飛零機應為我會讀。我知去哪, 炸見阿哪問郎, 看要坐。

R: 對啦, 我的 (wan) 婆婆不敢, 伊不會講。

EL: 就是伊不會講英文嘛, 啊沒伊中文比我卡棒 (gao) 阿

R: 是(sii)

EL: (laughter), 我中文輸伊, 不過我會講英文啊, 我來問郎兜不會 (vei), we do not be lost. 一定要讀 Chinese 才對, 世界吼, 中國郎地人口多少, 啊世界地 Chinese business man 通世界囑全中國郎, ㄟㄟ

by years Chinese school to be able to read

** Taiwanese Languages * Chinese English practicality over taiyu & japon*

Education = more opportunity

language mpt

FN2011/08/06

In the past, Luo has commented about each parent being responsible for their own child's decision. However today she gave more insight, suggesting that Mandarin needs to be learned first and for about six years so that there is enough of a foundation. It seems she feels a slight frustration with her limited Mandarin ability which is hard to tell. Probably due to the fact that it's not as comfortable of a language. She was reading the Japanese newspaper today and before I left, she had turned on NHK to watch the news. She seemed tired.

She surprised me when she said is okay with being part of China today. I've never heard that but she seemed so adamant.

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